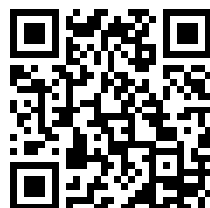

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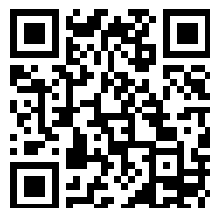
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Modern Philology

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NUMBER I

CADMON'S HYMN

Oddly enough, when we consider the interest which Cadmon's Hymn has had for years, no study of all its versions has ever appeared in print. Variants have often been given with more or less fulness and accuracy, but the nearest approach to a complete study of them, that by Herr Wuest,¹ considers nine only of the fifteen versions of which we have knowledge and readings. Wuest, however, in the discovery of MSS D and P, and in his reconstruction from them of their prototype Y, clearly Northumbrian, clearly antedating Alfred by at least a century, and reading 'eordu' (5), has established beyond question what Zupitza long ago maintained with convincing logic,² that Alfred gave a current, and what he considered a true, version of the Hymn, differing from the original in dialect only. He has also made it clear that the Hymn appeared very early with the reading 'eordu' in line 5.

But when he goes on to find in his Y the source of the Alfredian versions the reader is impelled to review his arguments. Despite the conclusion of such scholars as Miller and Schipper in favor of T as our best MS of the Alfredian Bede, he prefers B, C, and Ca. Indeed, on the basis of his study of the nine lines of the Hymn he is moved to say: "Velleicht bestätigt eine erneute collation des ganzen textes von Aelfreds Bedaübersetzung, dass auch für diese nicht nur für den hymnus, die hss. B, C and Ca³ den vorzug verdienen" (p. 224).

¹ *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XLVIII, 205 ff.

² *Ibid.*, XXII, 222.

³ Wuest calls them C, O(w), U. See below, p. 2.

Yet we find him willing to reject 'ord' (4), the reading of these favored MSS, with a mere reference to the spelling of C as evidence, and also to read 'astealde' (4), against the reading 'onstealde' in all the Alfredian MSS except B. In both cases he thus gets the readings of his Y. The disagreement in line 9, where his favored MSS all read 'foldan' against the 'orfeldu(m)' of O and Y, he declares insoluble. With the ground thus cleared he is ready to say: "Der nächste verwandte von W. (=the Alfredian MSS) ist Y: vgl. v. 5b: beide zweigen hier von N, auch von L (Bedas lat. übersetzung des hymnus) ab" (p. 224).

A conclusion thus easily reached leaves the reader hardly convinced. Even were the relationship as he maintains, however, there remains a much more important question to be decided. Assuming that his Y dates from about 750, as he maintains and as is quite likely, which of the two early and almost contemporary readings is the more authoritative, that of the long familiar N of the Moore MS at Cambridge, or that of Wuest's reconstructed Y? This is the really important question, and if we are to settle it, clearly a new and complete study of the Hymn in all its versions is needed.

The Hymn occurs, as is well known, in the following versions, some complete, some fragmentary, and some lost or no longer decipherable.

1. T. MS Tanner 10. Bodleian. (Called B by Wuest.) Tenth century. Complete.
2. B. MS 41. C.C.C. Cambridge. (Called C by Wuest and CC by Grein-Wülker.) Middle eleventh century. Complete.
3. C. MS Cotton, Otho B XI. British Museum. (Called L(w) by Wuest.) End tenth century. Now totally illegible.
4. O. MS 279. C.C.C. Oxford. (Called O(w) by Wuest and C by Grein-Wülker.) End tenth century. Complete.
5. Ca. MS Kk. 3, 18. University Library, Cambridge. (Called U by Wuest and by Grein-Wülker.) Last of eleventh century. Complete.
6. W. MS 3. Winchester Cathedral. (Not given by Wuest or Grein-Wülker.) Late tenth century. Badly clipped but important variants preserved.
7. O₁. MS Hatton 43. Bodleian. (Called O by Wuest and H by Grein-Wülker.) Late tenth century. Complete.
8. O₂. MS 163. Bodleian. (Not given by Wuest; called B by Grein-Wülker.) About 1100. Badly rubbed, but important variants decipherable.

9. O₃. MS Laud 243. Bodleian. (Not given by Wuest; called L by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth century. Clipped by binder but practically

'astealde' (4, more (5), and 'pe' (7). If he makes thus many

¹ Cf. Zupitza, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XX, 215; Schroer, *Archiv*, CXV, 67-69; and below, p. 13.

Yet we find him willing to reject 'ord' (4), the reading of these favored MSS. with a mere reference to the spelling of *O* as evidence, and also to

	W (Late Tenth Century)	venth ry)	O ₂ (Twelfth Century)
			we
Verse 1	/nu we sculon herian (heofon)rices we(ard)	.....	.....
Verse 2	/meto ^d des mihte & hi(s) modgeþanc	.....	.....
Verse 3	/weorc wu(l)dor fæder (swa he wu(n)dra gehwi	gehwæs	gehwæs
Verse 4	/ece drih(ten) word astealde	alde†	()§
Verse 5	/he (æ)rest gescop (yl)da (bear)num	.....	sceop¶ eorþe
Verse 6	/heofotþn to rofe (halig) scippend;	.....	hrofe (see 9b)
Verse 7	/ () middan ear(de) mann cynnes weard	.....	þa -geard
Verse 8	/ece drihten (æfter tid(a)|||	.....	teode
Verse 9	/fyrum on foldum (frea eal)miht	.....	on folden halig scyppend

* Readings according to W
† Smith.
‡ -steald, W.
§ Omitted
|| scop, W.; gesceop, G.-V
¶ gesceop, Schipper.

Wülker.) About 1100. Badly rubbed, but important variants decipherable.

9. O₃. MS Laud 243. Bodleian. (Not given by Wuest; called L by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth century. Clipped by binder but practically complete.
10. O₁₄. MS 31. Lincoln College, Oxford. (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth or thirteenth century. Complete.
11. O₁₇. MS 105. Magdalen College, Oxford. (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker.) Twelfth century. Complete.
12. "T." "MS, Trinity College, Cambridge." (Not given by Wuest or by Grein-Wülker). MS lost. Variants given by Wheeloc.
13. N. MS Kk. 5. 16 (Moore MS). Cambridge University Library. Probably before 737.¹ Complete.
14. D. MS 547 (334). Municipal Library, Dijon. Discovered by Wuest. Twelfth century. Complete. Marginal.
15. P. Cod. Lat. 5237. Bibliothèque National. Discovered by Wuest. Fifteenth century. Complete. Marginal.

To these should probably be added two others as follows:

16. L. Bede's Latin version. Complete in numerous MSS.
17. Y. Wuest's reconstruction of the prototype of D and P.

A tabulation of the important variants in the versions will be necessary to our study. We shall give the interesting W in full. From the other versions we shall give little except the significant variants. For ease in studying the versions we shall classify them on the basis of the most important single variant, 'ylda-eorthan,' (5). We shall also place together the Northumbrian representatives.

A glance at the tabulation shows an amazing agreement among the various occurrences of the Hymn. Clearly they all go back to one prototype. Clearly the Hymn was handed down as a labor of love by those who made their copies with great care. Before we turn our attention to the study of the MSS for their respective authority, however, let us note a few minor but interesting facts.

In the first place, with respect to the now illegible MS "T" and the now lost MS C, the readings of Wheeloc and of Smith cannot be accepted as authoritative. Wheeloc gives "T" with great fulness, indicating, supposedly, all variants from Ca, the MS he is following. He treats B in the same fashion. We can check his authority, then, by noting his treatment of B which is still extant. We quickly observe that he has failed to note as variants '-godes' and 'fela' (3), 'astealde' (4), 'hrofe' (5), and 'pe' (7). If he makes thus many

¹ Cf. Zupitza, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XX, 215; Schroer, *Archiv*, CXV, 67-69; and below, p. 13.

errors in recording the variants of his chosen MS B, we can hardly claim as authoritative a text built on his reading of variants in "T."¹

Similarly as to C, we cannot construe the silence of Smith as indicating its readings. Smith was a careful editor, but seems to have considered the variants, aside from those in the MS B, as of little importance. Thus he fails to indicate in O the forms 'ærest' (5), and 'dryhten' (8), and reads 'nu sculon' (1); in T he omits the important form 'or' (4); and even in B he fails to correct 'rofe' (6), like Wheeloc before him. Thus, unfortunately, we cannot think that we have an authoritative text of either of the lost versions of the Hymn.

I have spoken of the great fidelity of the versions to an original source. It is clear that almost all have been careful transcriptions of written versions before the scribe. A glance at the tabulation, however, shows O₃ to be an apparent exception. Plummer says: "Evidently the scribe or corrector of O₃ simply copied from a MS of the AS. vers."² I believe the evidence is strong against this interpretation. The version is in the left-hand margin of folio 82b, as bound, and was written in two different inks. The Hymn begins "Θ Nu we sceolan herian herian." The ink of the first four words and of the *h* and part of the *e* of the repeated 'herian' is faded, that of the rest of the Hymn is clear and good. The whole is written in a small hand and apparently the same hand. It would seem that the scribe changed inks and had his attention diverted by so doing to the extent that he repeated the last word he had written. The important thing for us to notice is, however, the fact that he omitted the words 'ord astealde' (4) and transposed the words 'halig Scyppend' (6) to the end of the poem. When we consider the practical uniformity of all the other MSS spread over several centuries we can, it seems to me, reach but one conclusion. The scribe of O₃ wrote his version from memory.³

¹ Both Schipper and Miller leave the impression that "T" and O₁ may be the same. It is true that the variants as recorded are in agreement. But a glance at the tabulation above will show that all the 'ylda' versions agree upon these same variants. In the spelling 'gehwyrc' (3), however, "T" is in agreement with O₁ and none of the extant MSS give the 'euca' (9) which Wheeloc gives. I see no reason for thinking that "T" is the same as any of the extant MSS.

² *Venerabilis Bedae*, II, 252.

³ Schipper, who of the editors gives most attention to O₁, has, apparently through a mistake or confusion in his notes, given the readings of O₁ as those of O₂ (*Bibliothek der*

Let us now address ourselves to the task of trying to determine the relative authority of the manuscripts. It is at once evident that almost the only significant variant is 'ylda-eorpan' in line 5. This variant serves not only to classify the later versions but differentiates the earlier ones, N, D, and P, as well. Our first task would seem to be, then, to discover the degree of uniformity among the later 'ylda' and 'eorpan' versions in a search for the readings of their respective prototypes.

This task with the 'ylda' versions is not difficult. All read 'we' (1); 'gehwiſc' (gehwyſc) (3); 'ord aſtealde,' where legible¹ (4); 'geſceop' (geſcop), where legible (5); 'ylda' (5); 'tida' (8); and 'on foldum' (9). Only in 'earde' vs. 'geard(e)' (7) is there variation, and this disagreement, probably scribal, is unimportant. We have, then, the authority of six MSS in practical agreement and all springing from a source which read 'we' (1), 'ord' (4) (apparently), 'ylda' (8), and 'on foldum' (9), these being the significant readings in our

Angels. Prosa, IV, XXIX). As the O₁ version is very interesting, and as its readings have never been given as a whole, I subjoin them as far as their legibility will permit.

The Hymn occupies sixteen half-lines on the upper left-hand margin of folio 152b of the Latin version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, listed as MS 163 in the Bodleian. The Latin version of the Hymn, beginning with a large capital N in red ink (Nunc laudari, etc.), is upon the same folio. The first of each line of the Saxon version has been lost in binding and the rest is very badly rubbed. The readings, so far as I can make them out, are as follows:

We ſcu(lan he)rgan (a)	(geſc)op (i) (yl)da (j) bearnū (k)
(heo)fon (b) (ricaes wear)d (c)	(heo) fon (l) (to) hrofe (m)
his (d)	(ſcip)pend (n)
(wur)c (e)	(mid)dan (o) ea(r)de (p)
(s)wa (f)	(e)ce (q)
(gehw)llc	æ(fte)r (r) tida
ord (g)	(fyr)um on foldum (s)
(æ)reſt (h)	(fre)a ælmihtig

(a) *w* partly erased; all but stem of *r* erased; *g* almost entirely erased; top of *a* erased. (b) Lower part of *o* and almost all of *n* erased. (c) Stem of *d* erased. (d) Lower part of *h* erased. (e) Almost certainly 'wurc' rather than 'weorc.' (f) Left stroke of *w* erased. (g) Impossible to tell whether *w* preceded these letters or not. (h) Only the top of *r* and the bottom of its stem left; the *e* almost entirely erased. (i) *o* and top of *p* legible; clipping by binder makes it impossible to say whether the letters *ge* were present but they probably were. (j) Schipper reads 'eorþe' (but cf. this note, above), but the reading 'ylda' seems to me certain. (k) The left half and stem of a letter are legible and indicate *d* rather than *p*. (l) The right hand stroke of the letter immediately before 'beornū' is legible. It could not possibly be *e* but is exactly the stroke of an *a*. (m) The space would be cramped for 'eorþe' but is just right for 'ylda.' (n) *e* and *a* partly erased. (o) Badly rubbed but still unmistakable. (p) Only the very top of the stem of *h* visible. (q) *p* and *e* almost entirely erased. (r) Part of *d* and of *n* erased. (s) Top of the *e* and left stroke of the *a* only remaining. (t) *c* partly erased. (u) *a* almost erased. (v) Part of *f*, nearly all of *o*, and part of *l* erased.

¹ 'word' in W is an obvious scribal error.

study. It must be remembered, however, that (1) the earliest of these MSS dates from the tenth century; (2) three of them are very late, twelfth or thirteenth centuries; and (3), *O*₂ is written on a MS which is itself a copy of *W*. At best, then, they represent a late form of the Hymn and their interrelations may be so intimate as to largely negative the force of their numbers.

Except in two lines the 'eorthan' group offer as complete agreement as the 'ylda' group, and the reading in one of these lines is of no great consequence. They agree on 'gehwæs' (3); 'eorþan' ('eorþe,' *O*₃) (5); 'pa' (7); 'teode' (8); and 'foldan' (9) ('folden,' *O*₃).¹ They do not agree as to the presence or absence of 'we' (1); and in line 4 some read 'or' and others 'ord.' These conflicting readings must claim our attention. Let us try to establish the reading in line 4 first. Of the MSS whose readings we know in this line (*O*₃ omits it entirely), one reads 'or' and the other three read 'ord.' This seeming weight of numbers in favor of the reading 'ord' is greatly lessened, however, if we recall the fact that *Ca* is almost certainly a transcript of *O*. In striking a true balance, therefore, we find one MS reading 'or,' one reading 'ord,' and one reading 'ord' by correction. Of these the earliest, and the one generally considered the best, reads 'or,' the latest reads 'ord' and the middle one in time, *O*, shows the correction. The reading in *O* becomes, thus, quite significant. Who made the correction, or rather, the emendation, no one can tell. The MS as a whole has been much emended (see Schipper). But it seems uncontrovertible that the original scribe of *O*, and his source, read 'or' as the scribe took elaborate pains to avoid the easy confusion of the two words; for he indicated the length of the *o*, not only by doubling it, but also by adding one of the few diacritic marks to be found in the whole MS (see Schipper). On internal evidence alone, then, we should be justified in accepting 'ōr' as the original reading of *O*, and so of the source of *O*. And the external evidence points the same way. In the eighth century the word 'ōr' was as common as the word 'ord'; as time went on, however, it fell more and more into disuse, whereas the word 'ord' became more and more familiar as its synonym. In *Beowulf*, for instance, we find each used three times. In the *Crist* and the *Elene*, however, 'ōr' is not used at all, though

¹ 'fela' in *B* is an obvious scribal variant.

'ord' is used ten times. In Middle English 'ōr' had practically disappeared; Stratmann gives but three instances of it. It is to be remembered, too, that the meaning "beginning" is a derived one with 'ord,' a meaning it assumed gradually, whereas it is the normal meaning for 'ōr.' All this testimony favors the reading of 'ōr' for the parent of the 'eorthan' group. Conclusive in its favor, then, must be the fact that it is the reading of N, and of D and P (= Y). For, where the early MSS are in agreement, their weight is very great. We have no hesitation, therefore, in postulating 'ōr' as the reading of the ur-eorthan MS.

The situation regarding 'we' is curiously similar. Of the three MSS we have been studying, T omits it, B writes it, and O has it by emendation. The logic of our study of 'or' *vs.* 'ord' would therefore favor minus 'we' as the reading of the source MS. It is to be noted, too, that the other early MS, C, omits the word (so Smith). Observe, too, that T makes no error in the version of the Hymn unless this be an error. Moreover, the same omission occurs in N, and in the early history of Northumbrian the first and second person pronouns were sometimes omitted.¹ Whatever Cadmon wrote, it seems likely, then, that the ur-eorthan MS omitted 'we.' We may thus postulate as its readings, minus 'we' (1), 'gewhæs' (3), 'or onstealde' (4), 'eorpan' (5), 'pa' (6), 'teode' (8), and 'foldan' (9). This version differs from that accepted by Wuest only in 'onstealde' (4) and 'foldan' (9). The first of the differences is inconsequential. The reading 'foldan' (9), however, agrees with N, if Wuest is right in reading 'fold'" (N) as genitive, and I think he is. Thus the Alfredian versions look to N in line 9 and to Y in line 5. As the reading in line 5 is the more significant one, Wuest may still be right in his attitude toward the mutual relations of W and Y, though the case is hardly as clear as he seems to think.

The larger and more important problem still confronts us, however—the search for the most authoritative text. To facilitate this search let us now place in tabular form the readings we have arrived at for the ur-ylða and the ur-eorthan versions, together with the readings of the early Northumbrian versions, N and Y, the Latin version, L, and—for convenience' sake—the readings which our

¹ Cf. Sarrasin, *Eng. Studien*, XXXVIII, 183 ff., and *Genesis A*, 850 and 1098.

further study will indicate as the probable readings of the Hymn itself as originally sung by Cadmon.

	<i>ur-ylda</i>	<i>ur-eorthan</i>	N	Y	L	<i>ur-hymn</i>
Verse 1.	we	() ?	()	we	.....	( ) ?
Verse 3.	gehwilc	gehwæs	gihwæs	gihwæs	.....	gihwæs
Verse 4.	{ ord astealde	or onstealde	or astelidæ	or astalde	.....	or astelidæ
Verse 5.	ylda	eorthan	aelda	eordu	hominum	aelda
Verse 7.	()	tha	tha	ða	dehinc	tha
Verse 8.	tida	teode	tiadæ	tiade	creavit	tiadæ
Verse 9.	on foldum	foldan	fold-	on foldu	.....	fold-

It becomes at once evident that the Hymn was transmitted in two distinct forms almost from the beginning, for the N version and the Y version, older by at least two centuries than any other versions, classify at once as 'ylda' and 'eorthan' versions respectively. It is also to be noted that, despite the faithfulness of transcription, there is variation between both N and Y and between them and the later versions of their respective groups. Thus the agreement which these later versions show among themselves was taken on in the later history of the transmission of the Hymn. In a search for the reading of the Hymn itself, therefore, the joint reading of N and Y in any given case must be accepted as conclusive. We are thus able to determine the reading of all but three half-lines with comparative ease. Clearly the correct reading for line 3 is 'gihwæs,' the reading of all the MSS except those of the 'ylda' group.¹ Just as clearly the reading in verse 4 is 'or' and in verse 7 is 'tha' (cf. L). There thus remain to be established only the readings in verses 1, 5, and 9. To this task we must now apply ourselves.

It is to be noticed, first, that in the presence or absence of 'we' (1) and in the reading in verse 9, there is not only disagreement between the two early MSS but between them and their later group representatives. From such a confusion it is difficult to see any clear and convincing reading. Nor is a solution of these lines important. Yet there must be some weight of evidence to be found and some choice

¹ Wuest, who seems to be unaware of the readings of the 'ylda' group, prints 'gehwilc' with an exclamation point.

must be sought for the reading of the Hymn itself. We must therefore sift the evidence.

In favor of the reading of 'we' is its presence in eleven of the MSS and the strong tendency in Anglo-Saxon poetry to begin with a pronoun (cf. *Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, etc.). On the other hand, the omission of the pronoun in early Northumbrian is demonstrable, as we have seen above (p. 7), and our study of the 'eorthan' group led us to the belief that the 'we' was omitted in its source. Certainly it is omitted in the two best Alfredian MSS, T and C. The weight of the evidence seems, then, to favor the omission of 'we' in the original hymn, and we have so indicated it above. We do so with a question, however, as the evidence is not conclusive.

Even more inconclusive is the choice of a reading in line 9. The reading with and without the preposition is equally good so far as idiom is concerned, and both readings have equal manuscript support. I have chosen, again with a question, the reading without the preposition, because 'firum fold~' makes a more perfect appositive for 'aelda bearnum' (5), and the style of the poem is marked by such repetitions.¹

If the absence of conclusive readings in these two lines is immaterial, the same cannot be said of the reading in line 5. For here is the most important single crux in our study. A convincing conclusion as to the reading of this line will go far to the establishing of the relative authority of the 'ylda' and 'eorthan' versions, and thus to the reading of the original Hymn.

At this point there is nothing to be gained by studying the later MSS. We must center our attention on N, Y, and L. It is interesting to observe, first, that the two men most instrumental in handing down the Hymn, Bede and Alfred, each choosing, no doubt, what he considered the true version, chose differing ones. Bede chose the 'ylda' form; note 'hominum' (L), and the fact that all the 'ylda' versions are marginal on Bede MSS. The a priori evidence, then, favors N, as Bede may be expected to have known the true form better than Alfred two centuries later. But we must have more certain evidence than this if our conclusion is to carry conviction. It becomes necessary, then, to make a very thorough study of N and

¹ As I said above, I take 'fold~' to be a genitive, as does Wuest.

Y in an effort to discover, if possible, their relative antiquity and, therefore, authority. That we may do this the better I shall give these two versions in full in parallel columns.

N	Y ¹
1. nu scylun herge ^a n hefaenricaes uad,	Nu pue scuilun herga hefunricaes pueard,
2. metudaes maecti end his modgi- danc,	metudaes mechti and his modgedanc,
3. uerc uuldurfadur; sue he uundra gihuaes,	puerc puldurfadur; suae he pundra gihuaes,
4. eci dryctin, ² or astelidæ,	eci drichtin, or astalde.
5. he aerist scop aelda barnū	he aerist ³ scoop eordu bearnum
6. heben til hrofe, haleg scepen.	efen to hrofe, halig sceppend:
7. Tha middungeard ⁴ moncynnæs uad,	ða middumgeard moncinnes pueard,
8. eci dryctin, æfter tiadæ	eci drichtin, æfter tiade
9. firum fold ⁻ , frea allmechtig.	firum on foldu, frea allmechtig.

It may be well to remind ourselves first that Y is derived from the work of two different and late scribes who did not know the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, as is shown by their use of *p* for *w* where knowledge of script or vocabulary would have rendered the error impossible. Their transcriptions were, then, slavish, and as accurate as they could make them. The authority of Y, as a result, is as great as if actually found on an early MS. We must treat it, therefore, with just as much respect as we treat N. What, then, of the relative authority of these two versions?

As has already been said, both versions go back, obviously, to the eighth century. Indeed, both preserve clear evidence of seventh-century forms and usages. If this were not so there could be no true dispute as to the authoritative version. As perpetuating seventh-century forms and usages may be noted the treatment of *u*, *i*, and *æ* in unstressed syllables;⁵ the uniform absence of *u/o* umlaut of *e*;⁶ the writing of *d* for *þ* in 'modgidanc' (N2), 'modgedanc' (Y2),

¹ As reconstructed by Wuest.

² 'yc' written over an erased 'in.'

³ This reconstruction by Wuest is probably right, though both scribes mutilated the word badly. Cf. Lindelof, 75; Bulb., 361.

⁴ The first *d* in 'middun' is altered from an *n*.

⁵ Cf. S., 44; Bulb., 360.

⁶ Cf. Bulb., 229.

'eordu' (Y5), and 'ða' (Y7);¹ of *b* for *f* in 'heben' (N6);² and of *th* in 'tha' (N7);³ and the forms 'mæcti' and 'mechti' (l. 2);⁴ and 'astelidæ' (N4).⁵ Seventh-century, too, though persisting to the tenth, are the absence of breaking before *l* plus a consonant in both versions,⁶ and before *r* plus a consonant in N.⁷

The question is not, however, whether the versions preserve early forms and usages; the question is, Which shows most the influence of late forms and usages? Wuest says: "Nach allem ist die sprache von Y ungefähr eben so altertümlich als die von N: die vorlage von D und P ist also etwa um 750 in Northumbrian geschrieben" (p. 222). And again: "Auf hohes alter des textes weisen auch die in unbetonten mittel- und endsilben vorwiegenden 'u' und 'i,'—Y ist sogar st. altertümlicher als N,—vgl. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8" (p. 221). Do the facts bear him out? As to the words in *u*, there is only one in Y which is not also found with the same vowel spelling in N—the word 'hefunricaes' (1). Unfortunately for his argument, however, this word shows a later form in Y than in N where it reads 'hefaenricaes'.⁸

Nor is his case any better with respect to *i*, for Y is the only MS to depart from the consistent use of this vowel, the form 'modgedanc' (Y2), as stated by Wuest himself, being later in spelling than 'modgi-danc' (N2).⁹ The word 'haleg' (N6) is only a partial exception, as 'haleg,' though later than 'halaeg,' is yet a true spelling (*-ag>aeg>eg), whereas the spelling in Y, 'halig,' is the result of a confusion of '-ag' and '-ig'.¹⁰ What difference there is, then, between Y and N in their treatment of *u* and *i* favors N as the elder.

The generally later date of Y becomes clearly evident, however, from a comparative study of the use of the digraph in the two MSS whether it is spelled *æ* or *ae*. In no case does the digraph appear in

¹ Cf. S., 197.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 199, note.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, 191.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 269, n. 2.

⁵ See discussion below, p. 14.

⁶ Cf. S., 151. 3, 158. 2; Bulb., 134; Lin., 53.

⁷ See below, p. 12.

⁸ Cf. Bulb., 569. 1; A. S. Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVII, 384.

For 'eordu' in Y we have 'aelda' in N, so the forms cannot be compared. Be it said, however, that the final *u* here bears no testimony as to date, the letter being common in all periods of Northumbrian. (Cf. Carpenter, *Bon. Beitr.*, II, 432, 433, 434, 435.)

⁹ On *i* for stable *y* in 'moncīnes' (Y4) and 'drichin' (Y4 and 8), see below, p. 12.

¹⁰ Cf. Bulb., 360, 360c and An. 3.

Y and not in N, whereas it does appear in N three times where it does not appear in Y, 'astelidæ' (4), 'moncynnæs' (7), and 'tiadæ' (8). This difference may seem slight, but more than a difference in numbers is involved. Let us take 'moncynnæs' for study first. Y reads 'moncinnæs,' though the practice of its scribe in all other cases is to use the digraph for the genitive case. The psychology of the lapse becomes clear when we note that the scribe used *i* for stable *y* in the radical syllable of the second member of the compound. Having thus, unconsciously, used a later, and to him the usual, spelling in the radical syllable, it was natural that he should use the later and contemporary spelling in the unstressed inflectional ending.¹

Nor does this word contain the only evidence there is of the writing, consciously or unconsciously, of later and contemporary forms by the scribe of Y, for we have *i* for stable *y* again in 'drichtin' (4, 8), and of *ch* for earlier *c* not only in this word 'drichtin,' but also in 'mechti' (2) and 'allmechtig' (9).² N uses *c* in all these cases.

The point should be clear. We are not dealing with a few variations in spelling; we are learning the general practice of a scribe. And with this knowledge comes a general knowledge of the period in which he wrote. The evidence becomes still clearer as we turn to the remaining words where N uses the digraph and Y does not, the weak verbs 'astelidæ' (4) and 'tiadæ' (8). Y reads 'astalde' and 'tiade.' Clearly the scribe of Y represents a period enough later than the scribe of N for *e* to have become the uniform termination of the preterit singular third person of weak verbs. Where evidence of scribal habit is thus strong there can be little question as to relative dates.

And the evidence is not all in, for there is other clear evidence of the appreciably earlier date of N. This evidence includes the breaking of *a* before *r* plus a consonant in Y (cf. 'pueard,' 1, 7; 'bearnum,' 5; and '-geard,' 7), and the loss of final *n* in the infinitive 'herga' (1). It was the practice of early Northumbrian to keep *a*

¹ Wuest says, "für festes *y* nach palatalen braucht nicht auf spätere denkmäler beschränkt zu sein," but cf. S. 31N and Bulb., 307 and *c*.

² Wuest says: "Zu den genannten altertümlichkeiten treten 'cht' v. 2, 4, 9"; but cf. S. 221, N1; and A. S. Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVII, 387. The use of *e* in the radical syllable of 'allmechtig' (N9) represents umlaut rather than a variation between *ae* and *e*. It is, thus, evidence of Southern influence rather than of late date. (Cf. Bulb., 180b and An. 3.) Note, too, that N reads *c* whereas Y reads *ch*, and that in the noun 'maecti' (2) N has the unumlauted form.

unbroken before *r* plus a consonant;¹ indeed, even so late as the tenth century the unbroken form seems to have predominated.² A single exception seems to have been the word '-geard,'³ of which I have been able to find but one early instance without breaking, 'aethiliaerdi.'⁴ Despite the generally later date of palatalization, one suspects here an early example of it. At any rate, the breaking in N in this one case cannot carry much weight against the great predominance of later forms we have found in Y. May we add, too, that the loss of the *n* in 'herga' (Y1), is a sure evidence of late date, for though in late Northumbrian the loss of this *n* in infinitives is uniform,⁵ yet in early Northumbrian Professor Cook has been able to discover but one example, 'cnyssa,' *Leiden Riddle*.⁶ It seems clear, then, not from a few forms that have crept in, but from scribal practice, that N is appreciably earlier than Y and so the more authoritative MS. How much earlier we must now inquire.

The latest date ascribable to N on external evidence is 735-37. For though authorities on paleography differ as to the identity of the hand of N and that of the MS proper, all seem agreed that they are coeval. And the probabilities bear them out. For it seems probable that the Hymn was written down before the chronological notes which follow it upon the page, as a scribe, no matter how small a hand he wrote, would hardly have crowded the Hymn in over these notes with more than half a page vacant below, whereas, as Mr. Schroer has already pointed out,⁷ if he wrote first he would have begun, naturally, at the top of the page, close to the upper edge, in conformity with the uniform practice in the MS proper. On the other hand, Y may well date from about 750 as Mr. Wuest maintains, for it was about the middle of the eighth century that the later spellings we have found to characterize Y began to be current.⁸

Despite what Wuest says, then, about Y being on the whole as old as N and very possibly the more authentic, we have found that N is

¹ Cf. 'tharf,' *Bede's Death Song*; 'warp,' *Leiden Riddle*; and Bulb., 132c.

² Cf. Lind., 48.

³ Cf. Bulb., 132c.

⁴ Cf. Sweet, *Oldest Eng. Texts*, p. 428. 'middengerd,' Ll., is obviously a misspelling (cf. Lind., 48, An. 1).

⁵ Cf. Lind., 208.

⁶ Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XVII, 388; see also Bulb., 557 An.

⁷ *Archiv.*, CXV, 67-69.

⁸ Cf. Bulb., 307 and c; 360; 369, etc.

appreciably the older. Indeed, N must be an exceedingly faithful copy of a MS of the first quarter of the eighth century or even of the last of the seventh. The only forms not clearly seventh-century are 'end' (2), 'sue' (3), 'haleg' (6), 'scepen' (6), and 'allmectig' (9); just possibly 'middungeard' (7). But 'end' is simply a misspelling; 'allmectig,' as we have seen, probably owes its *e* to umlaut; 'haleg' is a better form than 'halig' (Y), and the word 'middungeard' seems to have shown breaking from earliest times. Furthermore 'scepen,' though later than 'scæpen,' is yet earlier than palatalization under the influence of initial *sc*,¹ and the form 'sue' may be older than 'swæ'.² The weight of these exceptions, if they be exceptions, is therefore slight, particularly as the spelling of these words may be entirely due to the actual scribe of N as it appears in the Moore MS.

Even were they all late spellings, however, they could weigh but little against the irresistible force of a consistent use of *u*, *i*, and *æ* in unstressed syllables for later *e*; of the absence of breaking before *r* as well as *l* plus a consonant (on 'middungeard' see above); of the retention of final *n* in the infinitives; of the retention of stable *y* and of *c* for later *ch*; of the old preterite singular ending *æ*; and, be it added, most interesting of all, of the very old colloquial form, 'astelidæ' (4). 'Stellan' belongs to that category of weak verbs which form their preterite by the immediate addition of *d* to the stem. As a result these verbs do not show umlaut (cf. 'astalde' [Y4]). But in very old Northumbrian at times these verbs do show umlaut. The spelling in N, then, shows the perpetuation of one of these rare unlauted forms. Not only that, but it preserves the unlauting vowel, and thus gives us one of the exceedingly rare examples of the full old ending '-idæ'.³ Whatever the actual date of N, then, there can be no doubt that its prototype antedated the writing of the *Historia*. It could, indeed, have been coeval with Cadmon himself.

Whether the 'eorthan' or Y form had also sprung up before the writing of the *Historia* or not, then, it seems perfectly clear that the 'ylda' or N version represents the earlier and authentic version of the Hymn.

¹ Cf. Bulb., 168, An. 2; 296, and *c*.

² Cf. Gothic 'swē'; S., 150. 1; Bulb., 103 An.

³ Cf. S., 401. 2; 44. 1; Lin., 222a.

Now the choice made by Bede takes on new weight. Whether he knew Cadmon personally we cannot say, though we like to think so. Certainly as a boy he might well have been attracted to the shrine of the first English Christian poet as Pope was attracted to the shrine of Dryden many centuries later. At any rate, he grew up in the same locality so that, were there two versions of the Hymn extant before he wrote, he would have had every opportunity to select the true one. I do not see any grounds, then, for doubt. Certainly we must continue to look upon the N version, as found in the Moore MS at Cambridge, as not only the oldest in date, but as representing with authority the actual reading of the Hymn itself.

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COLERIDGE'S MANUSCRIPT LECTURES

When H. N. Coleridge first edited the fragments of literary criticism which his uncle had left behind him, he explained the nature of his materials as much as was necessary at the time. But Coleridge's position in English literature, having since become unassailable, demands that the text of his writings should be assured, as much as is possible. Particularly is scholarly investigation necessary in dealing with the *Literary Remains*, which are known to have required much editing. How far can we be sure of Coleridge's intention in the text which we now possess?

This question can now be answered more fully than has hitherto been possible. In the Manuscript Room of the British Museum, among other Coleridge holographs, can be found a large part of the literary criticism which Coleridge left behind him at his death. The two volumes of manuscripts listed as Additional 34,225 and Egerton 2800 were acquired by the British Museum from Ernest Hartley Coleridge in 1892 and 1895 respectively. They are supplemented by two editions of Shakspeare, with copious marginalia by S. T. Coleridge, which make up most of the notes on individual plays published by Coleridge's literary executors. One of these is Coleridge's own two-volume Shakspeare¹ with blank interleaving for notes. The other is an eight-volume edition² belonging formerly to Coleridge's friend, Morgan. This latter edition had no interleaving, and therefore afforded opportunities only for such short notes as could be scribbled on the margin. A careful collation of these manuscript documents with the published text gives some very interesting information in regard to Coleridge's posthumous literary criticism.

The fragments in the British Museum account for the following sections in the Bohn edition of the *Lectures on Shakspeare: Greek Drama*, except the last paragraph; *Progress of the Drama*; pages 211-13 of *The Drama Generally and Public Taste*; about two-thirds of

¹ Printed for John Stockdale, London, 1807. British Museum pressmark, C. 61. h. 7.

² London, 1773. Edited by Lewis Theobald. British Museum pressmark, C. 45. a. 21.

Shakspeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius,¹ pages 237–41 of *Recapitulation and Summary*, with omissions; *Beaumont and Fletcher*; and *Massinger*, besides the fragment on page 395, and the chronological classification of Shakspeare's plays on pages 246–48. The marginalia on Coleridge's and Morgan's Shaksperes account for most, but not all, of the notes on individual plays. Of the Bohn edition of *Miscellanies* the following fragments appear in the manuscripts: *Wit and Humour* (pages 121–26), with slight omissions; *Sterne*; and about half of *Dreams and Apparitions*.

There are some interesting unpublished fragments and omitted passages, which I shall publish separately. But at present my chief object will be to describe the patching and revision of the present text. The lecture on *Greek Drama*, which is largely borrowed from Schlegel, is made up from two separate notes joined together by H. N. Coleridge with a short transitional paragraph supplied on page 192. One² of these notes is on the general character of the Greek drama, and the other³ on the Greek dramatic chorus; and they undoubtedly belong together. Both have the watermark 1810, agreeing with their known origins in Schlegel's lectures.

The section called *Progress of the Drama* is patched up from four distinct fragments, among which only the first has a strict relation to the section title supplied, as usual, by H. N. Coleridge. The first fragment⁴ (pp. 195–202) is based on Malone's *Historical Account of the English Stage*. Besides the internal evidence and the reference on page 199, there is a short note omitted from page 198, before the description of the German mystery play, which refers specifically to Malone's work.⁵ Coleridge's travels furnished the reference to modern mysteries in Italy, the description of the German play, and perhaps the attack on Catholic moral teachings. On page 198 an important change has been made to smooth away the evidences of patching. In the manuscript⁶ Coleridge says; "I have myself two manuscripts which I transcribed *ten* [my italics, not Coleridge's] years ago at Helmstadt, in Germany." The editor printed "a few

¹ Pp. 225–30, with omissions.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

³ Egerton 2800, pp. 10–12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–18.

⁵ ("Historical Account of the English Stage, p. 25, In the ancient—to p. 26 populace—) again—15 with an introduction of my own. . . ."—*Ibid.*, p. 16 verso.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16 verso.

years ago" instead of "ten years ago," a change which obscures an interesting piece of chronological evidence. If Coleridge's uncertain memory was not in error, this note was written for the first course of lectures, in 1808, though probably used over and over again.

The transitional sentence¹ at the bottom of page 202 is, of course, a link—supplied by H. N. Coleridge. The note² which follows, on the contrast between romantic and classic drama (pp. 202–5), is obviously later than the preceding fragment, as is indicated by a watermark,³ 1810, as well as by the obligations to Schlegel.

The next fragment,⁴ on theatrical illusion (pp. 205–7), is likewise introduced by a link sentence⁵ supplied by the editor. The 1805 watermark permits a possibility of a very early date, before any of the lectures, as is the case with the next fragment⁶ on pages 207–8, showing an 1804 watermark. The patching of these two notes together is natural, as the last two sentences on theatrical illusion (p. 207) belong to the second fragment, not to the first. These transitional sentences were transposed from the end of the last fragment to the beginning, in order to form a connection, and perhaps belong to a distinctly different occasion. Several interesting sentences were necessarily omitted by the editor in his patching. The fragment on theatrical illusion has a heading, "Desultory Remarks on the present state of the Higher Drama," which indicates a more extended purpose, perhaps for an essay rather than for a lecture. The other fragment, which occupies only a paragraph in the printed text, begins as a list of numbered points for a lecture of which the first is omitted by the editor, though it is significantly defensive, "Illustration of principles my main object," writes Coleridge; "therefore not so digressive as might appear." And on page 208, after the sentence dealing with the danger of a false ideal, comes this omitted note "supermoralize and demoralize." The paragraph as we have it is followed by an acknowledgment to predecessors in his views, perhaps meaning Schlegel: "Different states and degrees of delusion partly

¹ "And here let me pause. . . ."

² Egerton 2800, pp. 19–20.

³ The preceding fragment has no watermark.

⁴ Additional 34,225, p. 56.

⁵ "And here it will be necessary. . . ."

⁶ Egerton 2800, p. 21 recto.

shown by others before me." Then follow the two transposed sentences on dramatic illusion.

The first three pages of the section entitled by the editor *The Drama Generally and Public Taste* is a distinct interpolated fragment,¹ and does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts. The last paragraph of the preceding section, which has just been discussed, continues² without break on page 211 and ends with page 213, and has an early watermark, 1804, which permits a possible date much earlier than that of the fragments joined with it. The interpolated fragment, from its first sentence and its similarity to a passage in the second lecture of 1811-12, as reported by Collier,³ may belong to the second series of Coleridge's lectures. The reference to a definition of poetry in the preceding lecture does not agree with this date, as the first lecture of 1811-12, if Collier's report is complete, contained no such definition. But the definition does appear in the second lecture, and Coleridge was in the habit of diverging widely from his notes. The note beginning at the bottom of page 213, and continuing to the end of the section, is not represented in the manuscripts of the British Museum, and may be a continuation of the first fragment. The second sentence on page 217 refers to thirty years of Shaksperian study and reading since the age of ten, which dates the fragment⁴ as part of the notes prepared for the lectures of 1811-12.

The next section, on *Shakspeare as a Poet generally*, is not represented in the manuscripts of the British Museum, which do not appear again in the published text till page 225 (*Shakspeare's Judgment Equal to his Genius*). The patchwork nature of the text is again very evident. On page 225, the bottom paragraph, ending on the next page ("Assuredly . . ."), is a separate fragment,⁵ which seems, from its 1817 watermark and its omitted introductory sentence, designed to begin the 1818-19 course or perhaps the 1818 course of lectures. "Once more . . . I have undertaken the task of criticizing the works of that great dramatist whose own name has become their best and most expressive epithet," reads the omitted sentence.

¹ To the end of the quotation from Bacon.

² Egerton 2800, pp. 21 verso to 22.

³ Pp. 49-50, Bohn ed. of *Lectures*.

⁴ Ashe points this out in his note on p. 217.

⁵ Egerton 2800, p. 25.

Here one of the most curious instances of patching appears. This paragraph is apparently marked as the first sheet of a continuous lecture to begin a course and then to pass to the *Tempest*, as in the lectures of 1818-19. The transitional sheet (No. 3) is lost, but pages¹ 4, 5, 6, and 7 appear on pages 275-76 of the Bohn edition, patched with *another* passage on dramatic illusion from a different source, the blank pages before the *Tempest* in Coleridge's edition of Shakspeare. The identity of subject and the connection of both notes with the *Tempest* indicate that Coleridge himself may have designed the two for use together, perhaps also with the first two pages of manuscript which now appear on pages 225-26.

The next paragraph (pp. 226-27) does not appear in the manuscripts. The next,² on page 227 ("Let me . . ."), is also an introductory paragraph like the one first discussed. It is headed "Lecture," and begins with an introductory sentence which has been recast by the editor. "The subject of the present lecture is no less than a question submitted to your understandings emancipated from national prejudice." This section has another omission which is of especial interest, as acknowledging an obligation to Schlegel. I italicize the omitted words. "The true ground of the mistake, *as has been well remarked by a continental critic*, lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form."³ The editor made a serious mistake in suppressing this acknowledgment.

The paragraph on page 230 is another separate fragment⁴ in the manuscripts. The patchwork nature of the whole section on *Shakspeare's Judgment*, does not, however, cause the usual tendency to repetition and disorderly organization so evident in the *Lectures*: in this particular section, there is no marked digression. The separate fragments harmonize, and, if written at separate times, were probably used together, except for the first fragment mentioned.

The next section is headed by the editor, *Recapitulation and Summary of the Characteristics of Shakspeare's Dramas*. In his note he tells us that the lecture was "for the most part communicated by Mr. Justice Coleridge." As one would expect, the manuscripts⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27 (recto and verso).

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24 verso; Bohn ed., p. 229.

⁴ Additional 34,225, p. 48 recto.

⁵ (a) Egerton 2800, p. 40; (b) Additional 34,225, p. 51.

cover only part of this material, from page 237 to 241, with omissions.¹ The transitional sentence on page 237 ("It seems to me. . .") is supplied by the editor. The character of Polonius on page 238, the paragraph numbered three (pp. 238-39), and the last paragraph of the lecture ("Lastly, in Shakspeare . . . ,", pp. 241-42) do not appear in the manuscripts. When number three (p. 238) is dropped out, the other paragraphs are numbered continuously, up to six, instead of seven. Five and six (six and seven in the Bohn edition, pp. 240-41) are in a different scrap,² with a watermark, 1817. One textual error³ (on p. 237) should be recorded here, where H. N. Coleridge revised and changed the meaning of an important sentence. "Passion in Shakspeare generally displays libertinism, but involves morality," says the text mysteriously. Coleridge actually wrote, "Passion in Shakspeare displays, libertinism involves, morality"—a very different idea.

The next material which appears in the manuscripts⁴ is the chronological classification of Shakspeare's plays on pages 246-48. This is *not* dated 1802 on the manuscript, as in the printed text,⁵ but other jottings on the paper indicate that the classification was part of a scheme for a three-volume book on Shakspeare, perhaps one of the numerous projects in Coleridge's mind in 1802, when at Keswick. Two corrections are needed. After the plays listed in the "First Epoch," omitting *Pericles*, read as follows: "Übergangswerke—*Pericles* (explained by his having placed himself in a new world of Dichtung und dramatische Märchen)." And at the beginning of the "Third Epoch" should be listed "Venus and Adonis and the first Sonnets."

Although the marginal notes on individual plays undoubtedly formed a great part of Coleridge's lectures, the next manuscript fragments⁶ written in the actual form of lectures are those on *Jonson*, *Beaumont and Fletcher*, and *Massinger* (Section V, Bohn). The note

¹ But compare the first lecture at Bristol.

² Additional 34,225, p. 51.

³ Egerton 2800, p. 40 recto.

⁴ Additional 34,225, pp. 52 verso to 53 recto.

⁵ The two dates on p. 294 are also *supplied by the editor*. The first, 1810, is probably correct, or nearly so, as the note comes from the margin of Morgan's *Shakspeare* (II, 272). I have no opinion on the second date, 1818.

⁶ Additional 34,225, pp. 57-67.

on Jonson (pp. 396-97) does not appear in the manuscript. The notes on Beaumont and Fletcher and on Massinger appear as continuous essays. But the first paragraph on page 400 ("The plays. . . ."), the first half of page 402 (down to "I can with less pain. . . ."), all of paragraph two on Massinger except the first sentence (pp. 403-4), and the last paragraph on page 406 are missing. There is, however, no evidence of patchwork in these lectures. In like manner, about half of the lecture on *Wit and Humour* in the Bohn *Miscellanies* (pp. 121-26) is missing in the manuscripts,¹ but the essay seems to be continuous, as is the essay on Sterne,² which is complete in the manuscripts, except that the quotations are indicated merely by references.

H. N. Coleridge unfortunately omitted here another acknowledgment to German criticism, which should appear on page 123, of the *Miscellanies*. In the second sentence (after "person"), read as follows: "but when we contemplate a finite in reference to the Infinite, consciously or unconsciously, Humor (so says Jean Paul Richter). . . ."³ This sentence is apparently transposed to page 125, and the acknowledgment to Richter is omitted.

The last manuscript material with which we shall deal is the note on *Dreams and Apparitions*, on page 163 of the *Miscellanies*. This is one of the most characteristic instances of the patching forced upon the editor of Coleridge's papers. It is a combination of two fragments in the British Museum manuscripts, and a third, perhaps a continuation of one of these, from some other source. The two British Museum scraps are different drafts of the same lecture; and each begins with slightly different drafts of the note on dramatic illusion, which appears in the section on *Progress of the Drama*.⁴ In the *Miscellanies*, the continuation of the first manuscript draft⁵ appears in the second and last paragraphs of *Dreams and Apparitions*; the continuation of the second draft⁶ (after "to illustrate the point," *Lectures*, p. 207) appears as the first paragraph of *Dreams and Apparitions*!

¹ Additional 34,225, pp. 74-80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 68-73. The first page of this essay has a late watermark, 1815.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75 recto.

⁴ Bohn, *Lectures*, pp. 205-7.

⁵ Additional 34,225, pp. 54 verso to 55 recto.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56 verso.

These fragments may be very early in date, as the one which seems to be the first draft has a watermark, 1805.

This detailed account will give some idea of the materials used by Coleridge for his lectures, and by his nephew for the *Literary Remains*, as we can be fairly sure that the material which does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts is of a similar nature. Among a few omitted fragments which I hope to publish, is one¹ on Petrarch's *Africa*, watermarked 1817, which bears this memorandum, "Then turn to the Lecture Book." The watermarks, and such internal evidence as the repetition and duplication in reports of different sets of lectures, indicate the miscellaneous origin of the different scraps of criticism which Coleridge accumulated at various periods of his life. The "Lecture Book" must have been used over and over again, but with constant variations, due to Coleridge's extemporaneous digressions. Often he must have kept fairly close to his notes, judging from a comparison of the reported lectures with the text printed from the manuscripts.

So far as patching is concerned, little need be said of the notes on individual plays, which are published in their proper form as marginalia. The passages to which each refers are, of course, supplied by the editor, and are indicated merely by references or by position on the page in the sets of Shakspeare annotated by Coleridge. The longer notes, which seem incompatible with the narrowness of margins, are made possible by flyleaves and interleaving. Most, but not quite all, of the published notes are represented in the Morgan and Coleridge Shaksperes in the British Museum. In one respect, these notes deserve more attention than the manuscript fragments of lectures, which they supplement. This is the textual revision, which in such notes was necessarily very extensive.

What has already been said about the patching indicates the nature of the material left behind by Coleridge. It consisted of notes never intended by Coleridge for publication in their *present form*, though ultimately designed to furnish the materials for such a purpose. Not only is the ordinary proofreader's revision necessary for small errata, but frequently the editor was obliged to correct sentence-structure, especially in the marginalia. And in these last

¹ Egerton 2800, p. 50 recto.

a certain amount of padding and commentary was introduced into the text, either to explain some extremely condensed phrase, or to supply material which stands before the eyes of the reader in the notes of Coleridge's Shakspeare. H. N. Coleridge was a very ingenious and intelligent editor, and one can, in the main, be sure that the published text gives Coleridge's thought, and nearly his words. A modern scholar, however, would not be quite so free in revision as was Coleridge's nephew. In my opinion, there is a need for a more scrupulously edited text, on which I am working. Unless I can succeed in such a project, it will be very difficult to give an accurate idea of the textual differences between manuscript and published text. I shall, however, print such omissions as may have any interest, along with the other unpublished notes which I hope soon to publish.

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DESIDERATA IN MIDDLE ENGLISH RESEARCH

In a letter to Mr. Fields, James Russell Lowell complains as follows: "I have been wrestling with a bad head and an article on Chaucer, and I fear they have thrown me."¹ What especially troubled him in this difficulty is best explained by the well-known beginning of his essay on Chaucer, where he asks, "Will it *do* to say anything more about Chaucer? Can any one hope to say anything, not new, but even fresh, on a topic so well worn?" Such concern as this was apparently justified at that time. And yet, if one were to select the year in which, in general, articles and essays and monographs began most desperately to increase in number, it seems to me that the very year in which Lowell's essay was written would not be a bad choice. Think of the mass of material put into print since 1870! The impulse started with Professor Child's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer*, which was published in 1862, and with the publications of the Chaucer Society, which were first issued in 1868, and also with ten Brink's Chaucer *Studien*, which appeared in 1870. The situation is in many ways the same with the whole field of Middle English research. We may remind ourselves that in 1867 and 1869 Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben* was published, and that the first number of *Englische Studien* came out in 1877. Yet, partly because of new discoveries and freshly revealed material, which bring with them new implications and methods, so much remains to be done even today that it is doubtful whether such excellent surveys as we find in Wells's *Manual* or the Cambridge *History* may be classed with perfectly reliable authorities!

In the first place, it is increasingly apparent how shaky our knowledge of certain problems in the study of the language is. Many of the dialect tests, which have been agreed upon with so much assurance in the past, have since been shown to be doubtful or misleading. Such was the fate of the test of *-es* in the third person singular, present indicative, of the verb, long regarded as an infallible

¹ M. A. DeW. Howe, *Memories of a Hostess* (Boston, 1922), p. 122, letter from Elmwood, July 17, 1870.

sign of Northern influence, until Professor Kittredge's study of the *Romaunt of the Rose* pointed out that it appeared in Midland.¹ Not everybody seems to be aware of this fact yet. Recently Professor Hulbert found it possible to make out a good case against the localization of the alliterative romances in West Midland.² He was answered only by Dr. Menner's thorough investigation of West Midland criteria, in material drawn from hitherto unused documents which could be definitely placed.³ In the Modern Language Association a group was recently organized for the purpose of studying "the delimitation of Middle English dialects." It became clear in the discussion there that dialect tests must be subjected to a thorough revision. Fresh data must be collected, as Professor Wyld has recently studied the development of i-mutated *u* in Midland English.⁴ The literature of known provenance should be classified as evidence; and the areas in which certain sounds were used should be precisely determined. Such a systematic approach to the subject is found only in a few studies, such as Brandl's *Zur Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte*⁵ and Pogatscher's *Die englische æ/ē Grenze*.⁶ We must be quite certain that material to be used as evidence for the study of any particular dialect really comes from the region where that dialect was spoken. For instance, Mr. Waterhouse in his edition of the *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays* discusses the Dublin play, and cites as "the known peculiarities of Dublin manuscripts of the period" "the confusion of *th* with *t* and *d*, of *w* with *u*, and the omission and erroneous insertion of the aspirate."⁷ But a first-hand study of the documents will show that these peculiarities are not found uniquely in Dublin manuscripts, but that they appear with frequency in

¹ "The Authorship of the English Romaunt of the Rose," [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes*, I (1892), 2 and n. 6.

² *Mod. Phil.*, XIX, 1 ff.

³ *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 503 ff. Note especially 521 ff.

⁴ "South-Eastern and South-East Midland Dialects in Middle English," *Essays and Studies by Members of the Eng. Assoc.*, VI (1920), 118 ff. Also cf. the same author's *Short History of English* (London, 1921), pp. 101 ff., and his special article, *Eng. Stud.*, XLVII, 1 ff. and 145 ff.

⁵ *Abhandlungen der königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Jahrgang 1915, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Nr. 4.

⁶ *Anglia*, XXIII, 302 ff.

⁷ *EETS. ES.*, CIV, p. lxvii. See also p. lxvii.

fifteenth-century East Midland.¹ Again, Professor Wyld classifies the letters of Margaret Paston as showing "on the whole" the Suffolk dialect,² although Dibelius and others take it as Norfolk,³ and although Northern forms certainly appear in what she writes (e.g., *qh* for *wh* and *xal* for *shall*). There are also problems of method still to be solved. For instance, in collecting speech-forms, how far may we trust scribal spellings: that is, to what extent may we go beyond the evidence of rime?

The development of the language in Middle English requires, as a whole, in such ways as this a far more detailed investigation than it has so far received. Many of the old studies were good preliminary surveys; but they can hardly be regarded as final. Dr. Menner and the present writer have prepared a bibliography for the study of dialects.⁴ Professor Kennedy of Leland Stanford is compiling a bibliography for the general field, which will probably show how much remains to be done in morphology and syntax. The studies of Ekwall, Kennedy, Von Glahn, Samuel Moore, and others, offer material of an importance which extends outside the English field, on such subjects, for example, as the substitution of natural for grammatical gender, and the use of the pronoun of address. Changes of this kind took place in the development of Middle English which make its study significant for linguistics in general. Professor Moore has demonstrated his method of deciding from a vast number of

¹ Here it will be enough to summon the witness of the following studies: Dibelius, "John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache," *Anglia*, XXIII, 360, 446 ff., 464 ff.; Neumann, *Die Orthographie der Paston Letters, von 1422-1461* (Marburg, 1904), pp. 67 ff., 91 ff. (93: *t > th* "Weist auf eine stark aspirierte Aussprache des *t* . . . , mag aber oft bei der mannigfachen Verwendung des *th* blosser Schreibfehler sein"); Süßbier, *Die Sprache der Cely-Papers* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 37, 62 ff., 65 ff.; Binzel, *Die Mundart von Suffolk in früh-neuengl. Zeit* (Darmstadt, 1912), pp. 59 ff. ("Eine Eigentümlichkeit der Dialekte des Südens und Ostens bildet der Lautwandel des *e > u*,"), 71 ff.; Zachrisson, *The Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700* (Göteborg, 1913), pp. 45 ff., 78 ff.

² *History of Modern Colloquial English* (New York, 1920), p. 64.

³ Dibelius, *Anglia*, XXIII, pp. 160 ff.; Zachrisson, *op. cit.*, p. 45. For the forms with *qh* and for *xal* and *zulde*, see the letters of Margaret Paston in Gairdner's edition of the *Paston Letters* (Westminster, 1900-1901), I, pp. 48, 67, 81, 83, etc.; II, 32, 63, 64, 131, 203, etc. Dibelius objects to Blume's study of the letters: "Er betrachtet nämlich die zeitlich und örtlich so stark auseinandergehenden stücke der sammlung als ein einheitliches ganze, ohne auf die verschiedenheit der schreiber und auf die verschiedene güte der überlieferung rücksicht zu nehmen. Ich glaubte daher die Paston Letters noch einmal methodisch untersuchen zu müssen," p. 162.

⁴ [North Carolina] *Studies in Philology*, XX (October, 1923), 479 ff.

instances just how analogy works: from what case it spreads, and in what geographical districts it first operated.¹ As a summary of the conclusions of others his book giving the "Historical Outlines of English Phonology"² represents a brief and first attempt at a work which is much needed—not in itself an original contribution, as the histories of Wyld, Luick, Horn, and others tend to be, but a synthesis of established results, like Kaluza's grammar, which, however, is out of date. This new history of the Middle English language will tell us, without prejudice of individual interpretation, the conclusions reached in hundreds of articles, like Zachrisson's "The Pronunciation of English Vowels 1400–1700,"³ and Björkman's "Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English."⁴ Last of all, and perhaps most seriously, we need the Middle English dictionary which Professor Craigie promises to us. Professor Emerson has talked before our Middle English discussion group, at a meeting of the Modern Language Association, on some of the features which we hope to find in the completed dictionary, and a committee has been appointed to correspond with Professor Craigie in regard to some of these details.

Beside the work on language the old need of editing the texts is still with us. Miss Hope Allen has steadily expressed the opinion to her friends that before much more is done in the way of correlation we ought to have all the available texts in hand, and, in her field as in others, there is much left to receive attention. Only the more important documents have so far been adequately published, except, perhaps, in the case of some recent issues of the Early English Text Society. We have long waited for a proper edition of the *Ludus Coventriae*, which has only just appeared. Professor Knott says that controversy over the authorship of *Piers Plowman* can reach no satisfactory conclusion until for that poem we have a completely

¹ Presented in a paper before the Group on the "Delimitation of Middle English Dialects," at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Baltimore, 1921, where he showed "by means of a statistical treatment of data derived from a representative body of material from eleventh- and twelfth-century MSS that, though the loss of final nasals in unstressed syllables was no doubt originally a phonetic phenomenon, the distribution of the forms with and without *n* in early M.E. must have been determined by analogy." See the *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, No. 1, "Proceedings," p. xx.

² Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1919. Some details included in this book are not "established," but it serves, in general, to illustrate the point. See my review, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV, 418 ff.

³ Göteborg, 1913.

⁴ Morsbach's *Studien*, VII, XI (Halle, 1900–1902).

representative and scholarly edition with which to work. Professor Emerson recently suggested that it was time for a new edition of the *Ormulum*; and one might add that publication with a convenient apparatus of introduction and notes is still to be desired for *Gawain and the Green Knight* and even Layamon's *Brut*. So much material on these poems has appeared in scattered notes that we need a compendium of the best of it. Still to be properly edited are such romances as the *Avowyngge of King Arthur*, the *Weddyngge of Sir Gawen*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, *Sir Amadas*, *Sir Degare*, and *Robert of Cisyle*. Texts and notes for some of the romances are buried in the older files of periodicals like *Anglia* and *Englische Studien*, and will stay there, we may conjecture, until the publishing houses redevelop something of the altruistic spirit which characterized the earlier days of Ginn and Company. Nowadays, publishers, especially the old and reliable firms, offer contributions for the promotion of culture and scholarship only if they are likely to pay. It is a pity that we have no convenient editions of romances like *Athelston* and *The King of Tars*, which, after all, deserve proper attention as much as the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* and the *Seege of Troye*.

As for the investigation of special topics in the different fields there is, of course, plenty to do. The situation reminds one of the student in a composition course who asked whether all the available subjects for poems were not yet exhausted. In romance some of the folklore motifs, such as the fairy mistress, the imperious host, the three days' tournament, and the eaten heart still await full and systematic study; there are romances and tales in the *Gesta Romanorum* (as also in the *Decameron*) which have not been finally dealt with. Professor Gerould, I believe, is slowly bringing his study of the "Dance of Death" to completion. For the field of romance, with special attention to the French Arthurian Vulgate, the article by the late Professor Bruce tells of special needs still to be satisfied. After referring to the need of proper editing, and to that of fresh study of the manuscripts, he asks for some treatment of the Arthurian themes in the literature of later periods: "As all students of the subject are aware," he observes, "recent researches have revealed a far larger element of medievalism in the culture of the period which we call the Renaissance than was recognized by the generation

of Burckhardt and Symonds."¹ Professor Lawrence's recent articles on Shakspeare show us how this kind of work ought to be done.² Professor Bruce asks, in particular, for an "allusion book"; and one may reflect that it would be interesting indeed to have a study of the traditions lying behind such a passage concerning Lancelot as that in Chaucer:

Who coude telle yow the forme of daunces,
So uncouth and so freshe contenaunces,
Swich subtil loking and dissimulinges
For drede of Ialous mennes aperceyvinges?
No man but Launcelot, and he is deed [F. 283 ff.].

In the field of religious literature the circle of Richard Rolle has received due attention, and apparently there is more room for work. Some time ago Professor Gerould raised the question of the precise use of some of the extant saints' legends, when he showed how an inscription of the legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin hung in the church at Stone Priory in Staffordshire. The legend was actually painted upon a tablet on the epistle side of the Choir.³ Liturgical influence in Middle English religious verse needs to be more fully studied. The relations between Middle English religious drama and the French plays need further treatment, if we may argue from the similarities of their development.⁴

Chaucerian problems seem to have increased in number. We may well be thankful for the studies concerning Chaucer's acquaintances and friends which have been published by Miss Rickert, Professor Tupper, and others, although their special pleading for certain interpretations remains doubtful. I myself believe that there is much more to be done on the poet's relations and intimacy with John of Gaunt; a new hint for this is found in Professor Kuhl's recent article on Bukton.⁵ Professor Lowes finds the field of French sources so extensive that he has invited the systematic co-operation of other scholars. While we await with some degree of impatience

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XX, 345.

² See *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVII, 418 ff., especially 441 and n. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXII, 323 ff.

⁴ Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, XXXV, 475.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 115 ff. Note Bukton's intimacy with the Earl of Derby, pp. 119 ff.

Professor Robinson's text in the Cambridge series, we may be allowed to yearn secretly for the preparation of a Chaucer Variorum, for which, Mr. Hinckley says, the time is ripe. Any study of Chaucerian manuscripts is likely to be rewarding. In dating *Trouthe* scholars have sometimes ignored the fact that the envoy with the dedication to Sir Philip La Vache appears in only one manuscript.¹ We are soon to have the Chaucer *Concordance*, as Professor Tatlock's letter tells us; but some day there must be a dictionary.

There is, however, another side of medieval literature which has hardly been touched—that of critical theory. It would be valuable to have the medieval theory of allegory, as we find it in Rabanus Maurus and Honorius of Autun and Durandus and Dante, applied to the great allegories critically. On the other hand, such material as turns up in the account of rhetoric in the treatises on the Seven Liberal Arts, and in casual allusions elsewhere, might contribute richly to a survey of literary criticism in the period. In general, it seems to me, our need is for more criticism and more synthetic scholarship. Some of this occasionally appears, but like Professor Koch's article on "Chaucers Belesenheit in den römischen Klassikern,"² the inferences are often too few, and the critic's touch is not sufficiently light to "conveyen his matere." Would that we had more books like *Epic and Romance* by Professor W. P. Ker! In America we have a vast number of articles and monographs, but a poverty of books. In England, where the aristocratic view of

¹ Wells shows commendable caution on this point: *Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (New Haven, 1916), p. 647. It seems unnecessary to take "beste" (l. 18) as a "definite anticipation of 'Vache' of the Envoy": the same expression is used in the *Troilus*, III, l. 620; *Fortune*, 68; cf. A 1309. But cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 224 and 226.

An interesting detail in the manuscripts of the *Legend of Good Women* is found in some changes in the version of the "Balade" in the *Prologue*. Some of the MSS have the reading for B 261: "And thou Tisbe that hast for loue suche payne." Since this agrees with the line as it appears in A, it must represent the version from which A was taken. See Professor Amy's stemma, where C, A, S, represent the MSS which have the above reading: *The Text of Chaucer's Legend of Good Women* (Princeton, 1918, p. 49). Since this reading is in the original, Chaucer's change of "trouthe of love" to "trouthe in love" in the preceding line was not effected to avoid a repetition of the phrase "of love." The fact, then, that he added "in love" to A 221 ("Mak of youre trouthe in loue no bost ne soun" from "Make of your trouthe neyther bost ne soun") shows that he wanted to emphasize the theme of "trouthe in love" in the Balade. On the other hand, if anyone tries to derive the reading of B from A, it will be hard to explain why Chaucer changed both instances of the phrase. As we find it in A, it occurs in the third line from the end of both stanzas (two and three).

² *Eng. Stud.*, LVII, 8 ff.

letters still prevails, I am told that they have a superstition against monographs and articles, just as they have against footnotes. Perpend!

It is the plan of the Chaucer group at the meeting of the Modern Language Association this year, instead of having short papers on scattered topics, to have two papers on the general subject of "Chaucer and Medieval Romance." As the chairman writes, "Our purpose is to define the extent to which Chaucer accepts and incorporates in his poetry this element of the literary tradition of his time." This, then, is one attempt, at least, to achieve a kind of synthesis. We need, in fact, short surveys of the host of articles which appear in the various fields, so that he who runs may read the latest about the origin of the Grail, the ballad theory, or Professor Foerster's struggle over Celtic origins. Writes one scholar mournfully, "There is no survey of the 'scholarship' of the Brendan legend." No!—nor of that of many other subjects, we may add, and, although we have the English Association's review of English studies, as well as the list in our own *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, none of these quite satisfies the need, either because of not being sufficiently inclusive, or not specific enough.

So there is enough left to do in Middle English. Sometimes, in discussing fields thus far unexplored or unworked, I have wandered into foreign literatures, but only because these in some way touch our main interest. In such a broad outline I have not been able to go into much detail. One of the faults of what I have said is probably that so much of it is obvious; and yet, considering my subject, I claim that as a token of success. The needs of the field are obvious. We cannot go much farther unless we have reliable editions and scholarly apparatus. In listing "desiderata" of this kind, I hope that what I have said leaves much to be desired!¹

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¹ Presented at the Conference of British and American Professors of English, Columbia University, New York City, June 15, 1923.

DECAMERON, VIII, 2: EARLIEST FRENCH IMITATIONS

Tales 1 and 2 of Day VIII of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio are so similar in main idea and in detail that they are usually treated as one by the commentators who are concerned with their sources and influence. A glance at lists of analogues of the *Decameron* tales will indicate that the theme of these two stories became one of the most popular and most frequently utilized of novelistic subjects in Western Europe. Their titles will recall sufficiently their content.

"Giornata ottava, novella prima:" *Gulfardo prende da Guasparruolo denari in prestanza, e con la moglie di lui accordato di dover giacer con lei per quegli, si gliegle dà, e presente di lei a Guasparruolo dice che a lei gli diede, et ella dice che è il vero.*

"Giornata ottava, novella seconda:" *Il prete da Varlungo si giace con monna Belcolore; lasciale pegno un suo tabarro; e accattato da lei un mortajo, il rimanda, e fa domandare il tabarro lasciato per ricordanza; rendelo proverbando la buona donna.*

There is one detail of difference between the two stories which leads us to attach the two tales which we publish herewith more particularly to the tradition of Day VIII, Tale 2. In both tales the presence of the husband at the end forces the wife to forfeit the reward of her infidelity, but in Tale 1 he himself lends to the lover the money to be handed over to the wife who finally has to admit that the sum borrowed has been returned to her in his absence. This rôle of the husband is lacking in our two stories as in Day VIII, Tale 2.

Tale XVIII of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, the fifteenth-century collection that has been attributed to Antoine de la Salle, deals with a theme which has certain points of general resemblance to Tales 1 and 2 of Day VIII but there are no close points of approach and Küchler¹ cannot conclude that the author of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* had in mind either of the *Decameron* tales.

¹ Walther Küchler, "Die Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXX (1906), 276-78.

The earliest French use of *Decameron*, VIII, 2 seems to us to be found in the seventy-first tale of the collection of one hundred tales by Philippe de Vigneulles, a hosier of Metz, which was composed between the years 1505-15 as he himself tells us.¹ This *recueil*, which furnishes us with an interesting date in French literary history, is unedited but not unknown to specialists in the literature of the French Renaissance.² It does not seem unlikely that Philippe knew the *Decameron* at first hand. In his *Memoires*³ he tells us of his sojourn of four years in Italy and informs us that he brought back Italian books to Metz. He expressly mentions Boccaccio in the Preface and at several points in his tales. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the popularity of the *Decameron* in France since the earliest translation in 1414 by Laurent de Premierfait which ran through numerous editions after the first of Verard in 1485 until it was supplanted by the more accurate and elegant translation of Antoine Le Maçon in 1545. Its general importance for the French novel and tale of the Renaissance is well enough known.

Philippe's tales are crude in their expression and even more licentious than their avowed model, the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. He wrote them for his own amusement without literary preoccupation and his language has a strong dialectal flavor, that of his adopted city Metz, the local color of which is reflected in the majority of his tales. In appropriating time-worn novelistic themes, Philippe does usually try to introduce something new in the way of detail or dénouement generally without succeeding in improving upon his sources. The *conte* of which we here give the text from the unique manuscript of the tales in our possession is far inferior in every manner to the tale of the *Decameron* where as M. Reynier says: "Ce n'est pas l'aventure qui importe, mais tous ces détails qui précisent la narration et qui la colorent, qui constituent le milieu,

¹ H. Michelant, *Gedenkbuch des Metzser Bürgers Philippe von Vigneulles*, Stuttgart, 1852 (*Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins*, XXIV, 283).

² V. Arthur Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance* (2 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1904), I, 100, note 2; H. Morf, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, Strassburg, 1914, p. 28; C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, Halle, 1913, p. 499; Gaston Paris, *Esquisse Historique de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1907, pp. 251-52; *Mélanges de Littérature du Moyen Age*, II, 628, 637; *Journal des Savants*, 1895, pp. 289, 342; Karl Vossler, *Zu den Anfängen der französischen Novelle*, in *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, zweiter Band, Berlin, 1902.

³ *Gedenkbuch*, ed. cit., p. 32.

qui sont bien en rapport avec la condition des personnages."¹ The picture which Philippe gives us of the *fileuse* or *cardeuse de laine* was evidently suggested by Monna Belcolore of the *Decameron* story. It is not necessary to call attention to the simplicity of motivation of Philippe's story and its inferiority in that respect to that of the conte of the *Decameron*.

LA LXXI^e NOUVELLE PAROLLE ET FAICT MENCION D'UN FIN MAQUIER²
QUI TROMPIT UNE FEMME EN LA MANIÈRE QUE ORRES

En ung village auprès de Mets le quel je ne vueil point nommer, advint n'a pas encor loing temps qu'il se trouva ung maiquiez qui vandoit pelles, potz et chauldrons et les rescroit par la ville comme ilz ont de coustume de faire, et entre ses aultres baigues il vandoit des seriz³ pour serizer et habillier la chanve ou le ling: c'est ung instrument où il y a plusieurs dentz de fer.

Ores y avoit-il à celuy villaige une moult belle jeune femme nouvellement mariée laquelle oyant le cris du maquies, sortist hors de la maison pour veoir que c'estoit qu'il vendoit et veit qu'il avoit des sereys, et en eust moult volentiers acheté ung mais elle n'avoit point asses d'argent. Touttesfois elle l'appella pour luy demander combien qu'il les faisoit. "Je les faiz, dit-il, x sous la pièce.—Par ma fois, dit la jeune femme, j'en eusse volentier eu ung mais je suis trop mal fournie d'argent pour le present." Cestuit maiquiez le quel fin homme estoit, regarde de travers celle belle jeune femme qui estoit belle, jeune, refaïcte et en bon point pour le bas mestier et n'estoit point des plus fines ne des plus debates de ce monde. Si fut incontinent esprins en son amour et luy dit: "Ma douce amye, ne vous chaille d'argent car si j'ay rien qui vous soit bon, tout est en vostre commandement.—Grant mercy, dit-elle, mon amy.—Il n'y a point de mercy, ce dit nostre homme, car je suis celuy qui vous voudroie faire service et plaisir en toutes les sortes et manières que je pourroie ou sçauroie sans y rien espargnier."

Et en disant cecy et plusieurs aultres telles parolles et doux langaiges, il se asseust decoste elle, et en approchant commence à deviser de pluseurs choses et luy declaira son piteux cas de plus fort en plus fort tellement que celle qui estoit tendre aux esperons, fuit tantost abatue par force de ces douces parolles et ne le sceust oncques reffuzer qu' elle devoit avoir ung sery pour serizer son ling sans en riens payer. Et tantost que nostre homme

¹ *Les Origines du Roman Réaliste*, Paris, 1912, pp. 127 f.

² *Maquier* evidently has the meaning here of peddler of odds and ends. Cf. Modern Wallon, *make* (*tête d'épingle* ou d'un autre petit objet) probably OF *macque*. Modern French *massier* has a different sense. We have not found the word attested in Godefroy, *LaCurne*, or in modern dialect dictionaries.

³ *seris*, *serizer*. These words are attested for the modern dialect of the Belgian province of Namur, cf. Ch. Grandgagnage, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Wallonne*, II (Liège, 1850), 356. Philippe conveniently adds here a definition.

veit qu'elle estoit contente, si serra l'huis et la gecta sur ung lict et monta dessus pour veoir de plus loing¹ et besoingna tellement qu'elle s'en tint bien contente.

Cela fait, print congié d'elle, la baisa et s'en alla par les aultres villages. Mais il ne fut pas si tost hors du villaige qu'il ne pensa à ce qu'il avoit fait et se repentoit desia fort pensant en luy-mesme que mieulx luy vaulsist avoir esté endormis que d'avoir fait ung tel oultrage, et plandoit merueilleusement son sery qu'il avoit ainsi perdus meschamment sans en avoir aucun proffict. "Or, à la malle heure, disoit-il, me suis esbatus decoste celle femme; je ne gaingneres tant de sepmaine comme elle ait du mien. Mieulx me vaulsist avoir esté et allés en la taverne despendre mon argent que d'avoir ainsi donné la vallue de ix ou x sous pour ung si peu de plaisir." Puis, soudain se ravisa et dit: "Or, par le corps bieu, si je puis, je le raures par quelque voie ou manière que ce soit ou elle l'acompara."

Demeura la chose en cest estat une espace de temps, lequel pendant nostre maiquier avoit tousiours ung mal jour toutes et quantesfois qu'il luy souvenoit de son serey, et advint ung jour ainsi qu'il y pensoit, qu'il se advisa et au vray d'une grande mallice comme vous orres. Il trousse incontinant ces bagues et retourne errier au villaige où demeuroit celle jeune femme et espia tant qu'il veit son mary estre à l'ostel. Et incontinant qu'il sceust au vray qu'il y estoit, il s'en alla hurter à l'huis et tantost vint nostre bourgeoise veoir qui c'estoit et demander: "Qui est la?—Se suis-je," dit-il. Puis en criant si hault qu'il peust, ait dit: "Et comment me voules-vous point donner l'argent de mon sery; ou me donnez, fait-il, l'argent de mon sery ou me le randes à moi."

Et brayoit si hault que le mary l'ouyt bien lequel vint avant et dit et demanda à sa femme c'elle devoit quelque chose à celui maiquiez. La pouvre femme estoit si esperdue qu'elle ne sçavoit que respondre. Touttesfois respondit à basse voix en disant: ouy et qu'elle avoit acheté ung sery mais elle n'avoit point eu d'argent pour le payer. "Vous l'avez acheté, dit son mary. Ores luy redonnez. Que de sanglante putte estrance² soit vostre corps reliez! Debvez-vous acheter se vous ne voules paier?" La pouvre femme toute honteuse n'osa dire du contraire et redonna, bien ennuyée, le serry audit maiquier lequel le print et s'en retourna bien joyeux. Mais je dis, moy, que c'estoit grant honte à luy de l'avoir ainsi trompée.

The same theme is to be found in verse in chapter xxxi of the *Legende de Maistre Pierre Faifeu* (1526):³ *Comment derechef fut*

¹ Expression frequently used in the tales of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Philippe's avowed model.

² *estrance*. The word is not found in Godefroy or La Curne but probably here has the meaning of *estrainte*— "tourment, détresse, malheur," the suffix of the etymon being -ia instead of the feminine ending.

³ Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, dates the first edition 1526. Reynier, *ed. cit.*, gives the date as 1531-32. The chapter is xxxi not xxvi as cited by A. C. Lee, *Sources and Analogues of the Decameron*, London 1909, p. 248.

amoureux de quelque dame; a qui, pour ce faire, donna trois aulnes de escarlatté. Faifeu obtains the lady's favors by means of a present of three *aulnes* of cloth which he has gotten from a mercer by leaving a pledge with him. He later persuades the lady that the cloth should be exposed to the air and dew of the night to make its color fast and when she puts it outside following his advice, he makes off with it and returns it to the mercer who restores his pledge. The little story is interesting because we have here a piece of cloth entering the tale, a detail which appears in later imitations. Lee¹ first notes it in a story of Giraldo Giraldi (1477-79) which closely resembles the story of Pierre Faifeu but which could have hardly been its direct source, for the several tales of Giraldi were first printed only in 1796.

This detail of the cloth appears in what is clearly an imitation of *Decameron*, VIII, 2: the 148th tale of the vast manuscript collection of Nicolas de Troyes, a saddler of Champagne, which was completed in 1536 and of which only the second volume is preserved (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds français*, 1510).² Nicolas tells us himself that he is not the inventor of his stories. Those which he has not, as he says, "*retirées des livres*" he has heard told by "*plusieurs bons compagnons*" or he himself has witnessed the actual fact. Fifty-five of his stories are taken, with only one exception, almost textually from the *Decameron* or rather from the altered and inaccurate Verard editions of the early French translation of Laurent de Premierfait, as Professor Hauvette has shown.³ The exception to which we allude is a free imitation of Day VIII, Tale 2, (No. 148) which we have recently had occasion to read in the original MS in Paris, and which we believe merits inclusion among the tales of Nicolas which are considered to represent his personal contribution to tale literature.

¹ Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 248 f.

² Portions of Nicolas' work as *conteur* have twice been edited by Emile Mabille: 1866 (Bruxelles et Paris, *Collection Gay*) and 1869 (Paris, *Bibliot. Elzévirienne*). The commentators, G. Paris, P. Toldo, and G. Reynier, take no account of the edition of 1866 although the choice of tales is somewhat different. The edition of 1869 contains fifty-five tales, that of 1866 contains fifty-one of which seventeen are not found in the former. The tale of Nicolas which we publish herewith is then the seventy-third of the entire collection to be edited. Tales 53 and 54 of the 1869 edition and 15 and 27 of the 1866 edition are not found in the Paris MS but were chosen by the editor from sixteenth-century MSS, the whereabouts of which are at present unknown.

³ H. Hauvette, *De Laurentio Primo facto*, Paris, 1903.

The *conte* of which the text follows, prolix and clumsy as it is in comparison with the elegance of the Italian model, nevertheless offers us an interesting picture of the *mœurs* of the time and for that reason justifies its publication, we believe.

LA 148° NOUVELLE DE PAR MAISTRE GUILLAUME DE LA BOUGE¹
EST D'UN GENTILHOMME QUI DONNA POUR CINQUANTE ESCUS
DE VELOURS À UNE BARBIÈRE POUR FAIRE SON PLAISIR D'ELLE
ET COMME SON SERVITEUR TROUVA FAÇON DE LE RAVOIR.

Naguères en nostre cité de Florence demoroit ung gentil homme nommé Ollivier Maillart lequel estoit homme de grant et noble lignage et demoroit auprès de l'esglise Saint Jehan. Advint que cestuy noble homme alla cheux ung barbier pour faire sa barbe ainsi comme gens ont de coustume aux festes, pour estre plus honnestement et plaisant aux gens de bien avecques qui il conversoit. Or advint que cestuy barbier avoit une moulx belle femme espousée laquelle faisoit la barbe à cestuy gentil homme, qui avoit les mains si douces et si souples pour le mestier pour bien pigner et mouiller que merveilles. Ceste femme icy estoit plus duycte à faire la barbe que le meilleur barbier de Florence. Lors voyant cestuy gentil homme que ceste femme estoit si propre et lui faisoit se barbe si doucement, commença à estre embrasé du feu d'amours envers elle tant que nuyt et iour il ne dormoit; si pensa comme il pourroit parvenir à son amour. Et de fait depuis la première foy qu'elle luy eut fait sa barbe cestuy chevalier ne passoit point ung iour sans aller veoir ceste barbière en luy monstrant plusieurs signes d'amour ainsi comme font ieunes gens qui sont amoureux d'aucunes jeunes femmes.

Cestuy Ollivier de plus en plus fut embrasé d'amours envers ceste femme car tant plus alloit en avant et tant plus l'amour croissoit à l'ocasion de ce qu'il venoit chascun iour la veoir en la maison, parquoy il ne se peut plus tenir de luy dire la douleur qu'il souffroit pour elle. Et ainsi comme il estoit venu une foy entre les autres, la trouva seulle pource que son mari estoit allé sur les champs pour soy esbatre à prendre des oyseaux ainsi comme ont de coustume les barbiers qui aux simples iours n'ont guères à besongner, et pour ce mettent leur(s) estudie à aller prendre leurs deduyts aux champs. Lors quant celluy Olivier se sentit tout seul avec elle, luy commença à dire la douleur de sa maladie en luy disant: "Dame, s'il vous plaisoit de moy escouter, ie seroye grandement tenu envers vous." Adoncques respondoit la dame qu'elle l'escoutroit volentiers en bien et en honneur. Puis dist Ollivier: "Certes, dame, il fault que mon cuer se declare à vous car il ne peut plus porter la douleur ne la misère de sa maladie; pour laquelle chose ie vous

¹ We have no information as to this *devisant*. Some of the persons who tell the stories are real, for example, l'*écuyer* Boucart of the court of Blois. This has led to the supposition that all represent real personages. Unfortunately the first volume of the manuscript has been lost. It may have contained information about the interlocutors.

prie tant comme je puis qui vous plaise vous consentir et me acorder la chose que ie vous vueil demander, c'est assavoir que se ie n'ay aucun plaisir d'amours avecques vous, ie cuyde que bref ie morray car j'ay enduré pour vous plus que jamais homme crestien n'endura pour personne. Doncques ie vous prie que vous me veuillez donner vostre amour et ie me soubmetz à vostre volenté pour faire ce qu'il vous plaira de moy commender en vous gardent vostre honneur et vostre renommée."

La femme oyant ces parolles fut fort troublée et esbayée car elle avoit esté nouvellement mariée et ne savoit encore que c'estoit que d'amour, par [quoy] elle se excusa honnestement et luy dist: "Ollivier, je vous ayme autant que personne du monde à vous faire plaisir et service en toutes choses licites et honnestes mais en celle que vous me demandes, je ne m'y congnois point, ni aussi jamais ne my consentiroye; car i'ay mon mary aussi honneste que vous qui ne seroit pas content se ie me abandonnoye à telle chose faire."

Lors Ollivier fut dolent et marry en cuer de la responce de celle femme, et sans plus mot dire se partit et s'en alla par desplaisance bientost après à plus de cinquante lieues de Florence pour passer son dueil et sa merencolie. Et il fut l'espace de deux ou trois ans et au bout de trois ans s'en revint à Florence. Et pource que il y avoit longtems qu'il n'avoit veu sa femme ne ses enfens ne ses parens et amys, avoit acheté environ de catre à cinq aulnes de velours ou plus largement pour faire une robbe à sa femme pour sa bienvenue affin qui fust mieux receu et qu'elle luy fist bonne chère.

Et en passant parmy la ville de Florence luy souvint encores de celle belle barbière et s'en vint, son veloux soubz son esselle, pour faire sa barbe sus elle, et quant il la vit, il fut plus ravy d'amours qui n'avoit oncques en sa vie esté pour sa beaulté. Si la sallua et baisa moulx doucement, puis luy dist qui vouloit qu'elle luy fist sa barbe, laquelle incontinent print ung rasoir et la luy fist. Et en la faisant luy compta comme par elle il s'en estoit allé de la ville de Florence et que ce c'estoit son plaisir de faire sa volenté, qui l'aymoit mieux que jamais n'avoit fait. Laquelle luy respondit qu'elle n'en feroit riens. Et lors luy commença à promettre plusieurs dons comme or et argent, robbes, ioyaux et plusieurs autres choses laquelle tout refusa, et après plusieurs parolles luy dist: "Dame, voicy pour cinquantes escus d'or de velours que ie vous donne et me faictes le plaisir que ie vous demande." Lors la barbière envieuse et convoyteuse d'avoir celle belle pièce de veloux, incontinent sans plus playder, s'y accorda, "mais, dit-elle, ie vous requier que la chose vous tenez secrète car ainsi comme vous sçaves, ie suis de noble lignage et sy ay mon mary qui est honneste homme parquoy s'il estoit sceu, je seroye villenée et deshonorée à tousiours mais." Adonc Olivier luy octroya que jamais n'en ouvreroit la bouche pour en parler; puis luy bailla son veloux et luy dist: "Tenes, faictes-en ce qui vous plaira." Adoncques le print et le mist dedens son coffre et après le fit monter dedens sa chambre et eux deux ensemble prindrent du deduyt et plaisance tant

qu'il voulurent jusques à heure competente, qui sceut que son mary devoit revenir.

Et quant il fut temps de partir, Olivier print congé d'elle; puis s'en alla et en s'en allant commença à penser que il avoit perdu son veloux. Donc luy en faisoit grant mal et maudisoit l'heure que oncques luy avoit baillé, pour laquelle cause il s'en vint tout courrusé à son logis. Et quant vint à soupper, le paige regarda son maistre et veit qu'il faisoit mauvaise chère et souppiroit très fort. Sy commença à demander à son maistre qu'il avoit et s'il estoit malade. Lors le maistre luy respondit qu'il n'avoit riens et ne luy vouloit point dire car il avoit paour que il ne l'acusast envers sa femme. Le paige voyant de rechef que son maistre ne pavoit ne boire ne manger et gettoit encores plusieurs soupirs à l'occasion qu'il avoit perdu cestuy veloux, ne se peut tenir de l'interroguer en luy disant: "Maistre, dictes-moy, s'il vous plaist, quel ennuyt vous avez et sy ie puis, je y mettray remède."

Adoncques Ollivier voyant son paige qui fort l'interroguoit, ne se peut tenir qui ne luy comptast sa male fortune et luy dist toute la manière comment il avoit baillé son veloux à ceste barbière. Adonc le paige oyant ainsi compter son cas, commença à rire, puis dist à son maistre: "Sy vous me vouldes donner une bonne robbe, ie vous iray querir vostre veloux, et auquel cas que ie ne le vous aporte, je vueil avoir les deux oreilles coppées." Et son maistre luy respondit ainssi: "Se tu me veulx promettre de le me apporter, ie te prometz que tu aras une bonne robbe."

Adonc le paige demanda à son maistre ung grant blant et son maistre luy bailla et quant il eut, il s'en alla en la maison du barbier où son maistre avoit fait sa barbe, et quant il vint à l'huys du dit barbier hurta fermement. Lors le barbier oyant hurter à son huys demanda qui c'estoit et le paige respondit que c'estoit le paige de Olivier Maillart; et quant le barbier veit la paige qui congnoissoit bien, le dit barbier fut tout esbay car il y avoit longtemps que il n'en avoit ouy parler. Sy luy fist ouvrir l'huys et le fist monter en sa chambre où il estoit, et puis luy demanda qu'il vouloit et le paige luy dist: "Mon maistre se recommande bien à vous et vous prie, si vous plaist, que vous luy envoyes son veloux qu'il avoit laissé pour gaigne de sa barbe à l'occasion qu'il n'avoit point de monnoye, et veez là ung grant blans qu'il vous envoie.—Quoy, ce dist le barbier à sa femme, avez-vous retenu son veloux pour gaigne de sa barbe? Que de fièvre quartaine soyez-vous espousée!" Et commença fort et ferme à tencer sa femme et puis luy dist qu'elle luy baillast. Lors la femme dist a son mary: "Je ne l'avoie point print pour gaigne mais il m'avoit prié que je luy gardasse."

Adoncques la femme bailla le veloux au paige, lequel le print et s'en retourna fort ioyeux vers son maistre lequel luy donna une bonne robbe et aussi l'avoit-il bien gaigné. Puis compta à son maistre la manière comme il avoit eu et comme le barbier avoit tencé sa femme. Donc Olivier se print à rire et après se mocqua d'elle et compta la finesse à chacun.

There can be no doubt that both Philippe and Nicolas had the *Decameron* tale directly in mind while composing these *nouvelles*. A very striking point of resemblance lies in the closing scene of these three stories where the wife, before the anger and imprecations¹ of the husband, not only makes no effort to deny the allegations of her lover, but shows the utmost readiness to sacrifice the reward of her infidelity and to settle the affair as quickly as possible. The French tale-tellers have not seen fit to take over the satire of Boccaccio directed against the priest. Philippe's substitution of the *maquier* with the touch of local color thus introduced is a happier one than that of the *gentilhomme* in Nicolas' tale which is unusually prolix and divagating.² We have in these two *contes* another case among so many where the imitators of Boccaccio serve but to emphasize in bold relief the peerless and inimitable art and skill of the master.

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¹ In the *Decameron* story, Bentivegna, the husband says: "Dunque toi tu ricordanza al sere? fo boto a Cristo, che mi vien voglia di darti un gran sergozzone: va, rendigliel tosto, che canciola te nasca." For the husbands' oaths in the tales of Philippe and Nicolas cf. above, pages 37 f. and 40 ff.

² For instance, the entire episode of Ollivier at dinner and his page's sympathy is unnecessary and detracts from the interest in the dénouement.

UNPUBLISHED POEMS BY GRESSET

Since Gresset, in his last devotional years, repented his plays as well as the good-natured jests of his roguish parrot, *Vair-Vert*, and burned his manuscripts to spite the Spirit of Evil, several attempts have been made to recover part of his destroyed poems and letters. Their loss was, at the time, keenly regretted,¹ all the more so since he himself had given no edition of his works. The lasting popularity of *Vair-Vert* and of the *Méchant* incited several members of his family to ransack their archives to unearth some of his productions which escaped his inquisitorial auto-da-fé. Moreover, publishers as well as devotees of Gresset were interested in their rediscovery, since, before the advent of the Romantic School, the publication of his posthumous works was sure to be a remunerative undertaking. Renouard, who printed for the first time the *Parrain Magnifique*, owed to it much of his reputation as a publisher.

Without going into the detail of the complicated history of the successive additions to Gresset's text,² it may here be recalled that the most complete edition was published by Renouard in 1810. It contained a great deal of unpublished verse, which he had received from Gresset's family. In 1844, M. de Cayrol, in his *Essai historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Gresset*, brought to light a number of unknown letters, poems, and fragments and, in 1863, M. de Beauvillé assembled other unprinted manuscripts of Gresset, most of which had belonged to the Jesuits. He published the greater part of his discoveries in his *Poésies inédites de Gresset*. Even as the preceding editors, he was so much concerned with the "reputation" of the poet that he deprived us of some valuable data about the development of his talent. It is to be regretted, for instance, that he did not print

¹ From 1779 to 1790 there appeared four *Eloges* and a biography of Gresset.

² See on this: Cayrol, *Essai historique sur la vie et les ouvrages de Gresset*, 1844. V. de Beauvillé, *Poésies inédites de Gresset, précédées de recherches sur ses manuscrits*, 1863. Wogue, *Gresset*, 1894, p. 324. K. Herrenschild, *J. B. L. Gresset*, 1895, p. 102: *Von den Manuskripten Gresset's*.

the first draft of the *Vair-Vert* and the early comedy *Les Esprits follets* (1734) which were in his possession.¹

The gathering of Gresset's text has, then, been slow and laborious, and even now, after the successive additions by Renouard, Cayrol, and De Beauvillé, much of it seems lost or is very fragmentary and incomplete. I intend here to make a few new additions to his works with the intention of revealing another part of his burned manuscripts and of shedding some light especially on his later years, when, tired of the literary life, he wrote only for his intimates.

There exist in several libraries manuscript copies of poems by Gresset. Among them the MS *F.F. 12504* of the Bibliothèque Nationale is especially worthy of attention, since it once belonged to Renouard and contains a few unpublished poems. Its contents can be classified as follows:

A. Material relating to Gresset: A *Mémoire* about Suard's election to the French Academy; a letter from Alex. Gresset to Renouard, etc.

B. Poems or fragments already published: *Le Gazetin*, *Epître à M. de Boulongne*—Préface of the *Parrain Magnifique*—*Epître à M. Herault de Séchelles*. (The same as the one addressed to M. de Boulongne), etc.

C. Poems attributed to Gresset: *Epître d'un Jésuite de Rouen à un de ses amis*, with an epigraph: "L'opprobre avilit l'âme et flétrit le courage," a line from Voltaire's *Mérope* (Act II, sc. ii, v. 510). M. Wogue² believes that this poem is an early work of Gresset, written probably in 1734 when he was a Jesuit at Rouen. At the end of that year he had some difficulties with his order, occasioned by the publication of *Vair-Vert*, and, since the *Epître* is a complaint about some animosity which had a deleterious influence upon the

¹ Other publications of work by Gresset are: *Almanach des Muses* of 1797 and 1798, incomplete versions of the *Chartreux* and of the *Requête au Roi*. *Isographie des Grands Hommes*, 1827, containing an incomplete version of the *Lettre à Madame de Sémonville*. *Revue Rétrospective*, 1833, five unpublished poems. Cf. also, *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et des Curieux*, I, cols. 27-28, about Gresset's correspondence with Frederic II. A useful list of all the known works of Gresset is given by K. Herrenschwand, *Gresset*, pp. 199-204. It must be noticed, however, that some of the poems which he has not seen have appeared in print.

² *Gresset*, p. 276, n. 1.

author's talent, M. Wogue finds in it an echo of Gresset's state of mind after the publication of his best-known poem:

Soud le poids de l'ignominie
J'ai senti dessécher et périr mon génie,
Tel aux approches de l'hiver
On voit un arbrisseau fragile,
Glacé par les frimas, en proie à la langueur,
Se flétrir dans un champ fertile
Et des fiers aquilons accuser la rigueur. ...

Such a conclusion would seem justified if the poem dated really from 1734, but against this date militates the epigraph taken from Voltaire's *Mélope*: "L'opprobre avilit l'âme et flétrit le courage." This play was acted for the first time in 1743 and appeared in print the following year. Hence the *Épître d'un Jésuite de Rouen* cannot be anterior to 1744. And, if so, the words "d'un Jésuite de Rouen" cannot refer to Gresset who left Rouen in 1734 and the Jesuit order in 1735.¹

Can it be supposed that Gresset, after 1744, added the epigraph to a poem written ten years earlier? Even if he had done so, there is no reason to assume that he would have selected a quotation from Voltaire, for, in 1744, his former estrangement from him had long since become open enmity. The affair of the lost letter to Frederic II, which, according to Gresset, Voltaire had intercepted with the help of Thieriot, dates from 1741.²

The *Épître d'un Jésuite de Rouen* is then not Gresset's, but rather what it claims to be: A poem by an unknown Jesuit of Rouen, written after 1744, and sent to his friend, Gresset, among whose papers it was found. Its style, moreover, bears no resemblance to Gresset's manner.

¹ It may be of some importance in this connection to determine, as nearly as possible, the exact date on which Gresset left Rouen to return to Paris, to the Collège Louis-le-Grand. Cayrol (*op. cit.*, I, 59) and Herrenchwand (*op. cit.*, p. 20) err about the dates of his early peregrinations, which have been rectified by Wogue (*op. cit.*, p. 12). The year of his arrival at Paris is set down as 1734. A still more precise date would be October, 1734. A letter, dated November 18, 1734, from Gresset to his mother, written from Paris, makes it clear that he had arrived there some time before. He says: "Je ne crois pas avoir passé dix jours sans écrire. ... Le gros Marquet est toujours mon fidèle. ... Il me mena dernièrement dîner à Saint Cloud." This text shows what he must have written about Marquet at least ten days previously to November 18, 1734. The school year began in October, and it is more than likely that he arrived at the college about that time.

² Cf. Lenel, *Voltaire et Gresset*, 1889; Wogue, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f.

The MS *F.F. 12504* contains at least one more poem which is not by Gresset: *Les Chancelliers, Ode*. M. Wogue has pointed out that it has been printed in the *Fastes de Louis XIV, de ses ministres, maîtresses, généraux et autres personnages*, 1782, and that the author, Guyot des Herbiers, is known. A third poem, an *Épître à Uranie*, seems to M. Wogue of doubtful authenticity. If it is by Gresset—what seems unlikely enough since it is not in his vein—it must be one of his earliest poems. A prose letter at the end of the *Épître* makes it clear that the author was poet only by accident: “Encore des vers, Madame, vous ne l’eussiez pas cru, ny moy non plus, quelque cas que vous ayez paru faire de mon premier essay. Je vous avoueray que rien ne m’a plus surpris que la charmante pièce de Mr. votre fils; il est devenu tout d’un coup mon Apollon et si je vous écorche encore aujourd’huy les oreilles, prenez vous en à luy, car je ne comptois de ma vie vous envoyer que de la prose telle que je la scay faire.” Could Gresset ever have written this?

By these eliminations the unpublished poems in MS *12504*, which are of Gresset’s hand, are reduced to four:

1. *Lettre de Gresset à M. de la Jonchère en luy envoyant un pâté. Amiens, le 17 janvier 1742.*

Emporté loin de nos vallons
Et remonté par la Tamise
Aux glaciales régions,
Puisque ce Dieu des aquilons
Dont le front et la barbe grise
Brillent incrustés de glaçons,
Cesse de nous souffler la bise
Qu’il trichoit pour nous aux Lapons;
Maintenant enfin que nous sommes
Sous un ciel un peu plus humain,
Et que les canards et les hommes
Peuvent courir le grand chemin
Sans risquer de voir leurs atomes
Pétrifiés par le serein,
Je viens vous annoncer la marche
Des députés de nos cantons;
Dans le plus lourd des phaétons
On pourra demain à Lusarches
Voir passer les quatre Catons

En silencieuse démarche;
 Présidant dessus dix barbons
 Des Indes, un vieux patriarche,
 L' Adam, le Noé des dindons
 S'est encroûté dans la même arche:
 Dieu vous les mène sains et bons
 Ainsi qu'ils sont partis, je pense.
 Mais au jour qu'en votre présence
 Nos envoyés bien parvenus
 Auront enfin leur audience
 Entre les Grâces et Vénus,
 Chaulieu, Bonneval et Bacchus,
 Songez qu'en un coin de la France
 Un hermite qui vous chérit
 Sera pour lors assez contrit
 De n'être point de la séance.
 Oui, je partirais plus gaïement
 Pour voir cette joyeuse entrée
 Que n'eusse fait dernièrement
 Pour voir en simarre fourrée
 La caravane du Croissant.
 Fastueuse et froide soirée,
 Où, sur les glaces de Paris,
 Tant de pauvres chrétiens transis,
 Tant de faces vertes et bleues
 Grelottèrent pendant deux lieues
 Et revinrent dans leur logis
 Plus froids, plus bas que les trois queues
 Du vieux primat des Bostangis.¹

Vous avez dû recevoir, Monsieur, il y a sept ou huit jours, la lettre
 où je vous marquois les obstacles qui arrêtoient notre pâté. La
 gelée est à nos canards ce que la pluie est aux troupes du Pape. J'ay
 l'honneur d'être avec tous les sentiments du respect et de l'attache-
 ment que vous me connoissez,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Gresset.²

¹ "Bostandjis" is the name of the guards of the Sultan, more especially those who conduct his boat.

² Renouard was not much impressed with the poetic value of this letter and states, in a note on the manuscript, that "cette pièce n'a pas été imprimée et ne mérite pas de l'être."

2. *Epttre à M. le Duc de Choiseul.*¹

On ne verra plus que mes vers
 Et vous voulez en être cause
 S'ils s'en vont courir l'univers
 Et qu'un jour ou deux on en cause,
 Car, bien ou mal, la rime expose
 Au bruit, aux propos de travers,
 Aux sots, aux esprits, à la glose
 Des petits seigneurs aux faux airs
 Et des oisons couleur de rose,
 Enfin à cent degoûts divers
 Que n'ont point ces messieurs en prose;
 Dites du moins pour mon honneur,
 Que c'est votre lettre charmante
 Qui m'a forcé d'y revenir,
 Et qu'à votre voix séduisante
 Mon silence n'a pu tenir.
 Oui, dans mon champêtre ermitage,
 Animé par votre suffrage,
 Sans doute je suis bien tenté
 D'oser, dans un nouvel hommage,
 Célébrer cet heureux ouvrage,
 Ce pacte auguste et respecté
 Qui sur la terre et sur les ondes
 Etendant les noeuds les plus chers
 Sera le bonheur des deux mondes,²
 Mais quel seroit l'événement
 De vouloir trop me faire lire
 Du ministre sage et brillant
 Par qui la gloire a su conduire
 Cet immortel engagement?
 Je tracerois trop foiblement
 Des travaux que l'Europe admire;
 Ou quand même dans ce moment
 J'atteindrois à les bien décrire,
 A bien rendre les sentiments
 De tout ce que Choiseul inspire,
 Irois-je, ridiculement,
 Et lourd comme une dédicace,

¹ Cayrol mentions the existence of this poem, of which he saw some fragments in Gresset's papers. *Op. cit.*, II, 11.

² Allusion to the alliance between France and Spain, called the "pacte de famille" and concluded in August, 1761. The same year the Duc de Choiseul became Ministre de la Marine and began the building of a great number of ships. The poem refers also to "de nouveaux pavillons naissants." It must, for both these reasons, be dated 1761.

L'ennuyer historiquement
De son Panégyrique en face ?
Je n'en feroi rien sûrement;
Mais enfin, puisqu'il faut écrire
Pour vous prouver tout votre empire,
Lisez ce que m'offre l'instant.
Dans cette époque où tout respire
Le zèle le plus éclatant,
C'est peut-être une rêverie
Que je vais tracer à vos yeux,
Mais quand on rêve de son mieux
Pour l'intérêt de la Patrie,
On peut sans indiscretion
Offrir son rêve à la raison.
J'écrivis le mien sur des tablettes
Tel qu'il me vint tout brusquement
Dans ces solitaires retraites
Au vingt janvier me promenant,
Et, malgré la sage maxime
De n'écrire que lentement,
Forcé d'oublier l'ornement
Et les petits soins de la rime
Pour être lu plus promptement;
Quand l'objet d'un empressement
Dont vous allez être l'arbitre
Permettroit du retardement
Le zèle n'apoint le moment
D'arranger un grave pupitre:
Il voit, il s'enflamme, il agit;
Et tandis qu'un froid bel esprit,
S'attifant d'après son registre
De ce que d'autres ont écrit,
N'est encore qu'au premier chapitre,
Il s'élance, il parle, il a dit!
C'est d'après lui, c'est sur ce titre
Que vous voudrez bien me juger:
Dans ma longue petite éptre
Je n'ai pas le temps d'abrégér.
Si, dans l'inégal assemblage
De ces vers sans prétention
Quelquefois s'élevant sur leur ton
J'ai presque les airs d'un ouvrage,
C'est à l'instant, c'est à l'image
A régler le trait du crayon.

Le céleste et puissant génie,
 Qui veille du Trône des airs
 Sur les droits augustes et chers
 De la plus belle monarchie,
 Lui ramène l'ange des mers;
 Le cri brillant de la patrie
 Vient d'en instruire l'univers;
 Une mâle et noble allégresse,
 Signal des plus heureux exploits,
 Pénètre tous les coeurs françois
 De sa lumière enchanteresse;
 Tout n'est qu'une âme, tout s'empresse
 D'exprimer au plus cher des rois
 Cette universelle tendresse
 Des peuples soumis à ses lois.
 Pour le servir et pour lui plaire
 De nouveaux pavillons naissants,
 Décorés des noms triomphants
 Du patriotisme sincère,
 Vont courber les flots menaçants
 Et de l'un à l'autre hemisphère
 Sous le plus heureux ministère,
 Etablissant l'égalité,
 La franchise, la dignité
 D'un commerce noble et prospère,
 Vont affranchir sa liberté
 Du joug funeste de la guerre,
 Rendre aux mers la sérénité;
 L'essor, l'éclat, l'activité,
 Aux arts, aux trésors de la terre,
 Et le calme à l'humanité.

3. *Chanson Picarde par Gresset, et par lui chantée dans un bal masqué à la réception de la Duchesse de Chaulnes, femme de l'Intendant d'Amiens.* Renouard gives in a note the following explanation about this poem:

Cette chanson a été écrite sous la dictée d'un très vieux paysan des environs d'Abbeville, avec lequel je me suis rencontré dans la diligence et qui m'a assuré, qu'ayant été un des jeunes garçons du pays auxquels il avait été permis d'assister à cette fête, il avait appris alors cette chanson que jamais depuis il n'avait oubliée. Si, en 1811, je l'avais eue elle aurait été placée dans mon édition de Gresset. Je l'ai dernièrement copiée dans le volume in

8° grand papier du *Parrain* où sont recueillies toutes les variantes de ce poème prises sur le manuscrit du parent de Gresset, Mr. Boistel de Belloy.

Air: La plus belle Promenade

Quant ci voi pointer no Fête,
Saquerquie, que j'si content,
Et cours comme eun' arbalète
Déclaquer mon compliment.
Madame, faut que j'vous baille
Des violete ed no gardin,
Ch'net morbleu point de l'racaille,
Ch'est du biau et du pu fin.

Je n'vos aguincheraï mie d'roses,
Car den vo gardin c'lo croit:
On en comptroit eun bel'dose
Sur vo biau, ginti minois.
J'ai dit tout au fond de m'n âme,
Au premier que j'vos ai vue,
Sans barguigne v'lo 'n bel dame
Qu'a bian l'air d'un biau Jesu.

Grand Dieu que de belles dames
Qui gnia dans ce pays-ci;
Ch'est morbieu vous l'pu bel fame
Qu'eïn puiss' nommer dan' Paris.
Lorsqu'avec vous je me touille,
J'ai vraiman' bian du bonheur:
J'sens queq' chose qui m'catouille
Jusqu'au robinet du cœur.

N'v'lo ti pas des vers d'affût
Aguinchés sur ein biau ton,
Juste et carré com'eun flûte ?
Je n'sai mie si vo'plairont,
J' s'rai p'neux com eun fondeur d'cloque
Si o n'approuvez m'cainchon,
Et je m'rangarnrai dan' m'coque
Comme ein pauvre limichon.

Note by Renouard: C'est bien du vrai exact Picard d'Amiens, d'Abbeville, de St. Valéry, etc.

4. *Brevet d'Ambassadeur en Pologne et d'Antiquaire de la Calotte pour M. l'Abbé de Livry.*

M. L'Abbé de Livry ci-devant ambassadeur du Roy en Portugal et à Madrid, sans avoir réussi dans ces deux ambassades par quelques difficultés sur le cérémonial, puis nommé à l'ambassade de Pologne, s'est vanté d'avoir découvert dans le livre de Samisius qu'il y avait eu à Lublin en Pologne une société d'un nommé Babin toute pareille à la Calotte.¹

MOMUS, par la loi du destin,
Maître du monde sublunaire
Et divinité tutélaire
De tout l'univers Calottin:
Au noble et docte Abbé Sanguin
Honneur et charge d'antiquaire.

Connaissant vos rares talents
Pour tout genre de politique,
Cérémonial et pratique,
Eprouvé, sans le fruit des ans,
Par une vive expérience
Dans mainte longue résidence
Près des plus dignes potentats.
Nos Vice-rois en tout état;
Instruit des droits de préséance,
D'accueil, de visite, d'abord
Pour les ambassadeurs de France
Mieux qu'Amelot et Wiquefort,
Avec quels efforts de prudence,
De sagesse et d'intelligence,
—Organe du plus grand des rois,—
Par des discours fermes et graves
Ne soutintes-vous pas ses droits
Près du ministre des Algraves!
Puis, pour sauver la dignité
De votre auguste caractère,
Passant brusquement chez l'Ibère,

¹ As members of the famous *Régiment de la Calotte* were nominated all those who had distinguished themselves by some absurd action or utterance. See Maurepas, *Mémoires*, 1792, Vol. II, and Léon Hennet, *Le Régiment de la Calotte*, 1886. The *Brevet* here published does not occur in the two editions of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Calotte* which I have consulted (1732 and 1752), nor in the *Mémoires de Maurepas*. M. Wogue expresses the opinion that it is not intelligible. It is, however, entirely in the traditional style of all other mock *Brevets* of the *Régiment de la Calotte*, and the note, which introduces it, explains sufficiently the several allusions to the great success of the Abbé Sanguin de Livry as a diplomat and a discoverer of unknown documents on a precursor in Poland of the *Société de la Calotte*.

Contre les Gaulois irrité,
Avec quelle légalité
Vous désarmâtes sa colère
Qu'allumait un secret traité!
Ne pouvant faire un choix plus digne
Que de vous, Calottin insigne,
Pour faire renaitre à Lublin
La société de Babin,
Jadis membre de la Calotte
Et soumise à notre Marotte:
Vous commettons à ce dessein
Agent plénipotentiaire
Près du Palatin de Lublin,
En crédit à ce nécessaire.

Voulons récompenser de plus
Cette découverte authentique
Qu'ès annales de familiers,
En effleurant la politique,
Votre talent scientifique
A fait des antiques statuts
De cette sage République
Sur qui regnait Sigismundus,
Adroit fauteur de l'hérétique:
Vous établissons Chroniqueur
De notre histoire cartulaire,
Dont, en bonne forme et teneur,
Au temps où la fève est en fleur,
Vous remettrez un exemplaire
A Colombat, notre imprimeur,
Et Blanzzy, bibliothécaire.

A source for discovery of unknown poems by Gresset which has hardly been opened up is found in the manuscript collections of poetry which have belonged to his friends or to book collectors of the time. Notwithstanding the decision of the last decades of his life not to allow any of his productions to be printed, he sent his *Epîtres* and his versified fancies to his acquaintances, who, exactly because they knew that these works of a successful author would not appear in print, must have taken pains to preserve them. Besides, the "fureur de l'inédit" is no modern phenomenon. It existed in France in the eighteenth century when scribes made it a regular business to

supply private libraries with manuscript versions of works, which, for personal, political, or religious reasons, could not be published with impunity.¹

In a manuscript in my possession, dating from the end of the eighteenth century, I have found three unknown poems of Gresset which manifestly originate from his acquaintances, probably from Mme de Sémonville. The MS, in two different handwritings, is composed of three volumes, bound in two, respectively of 248, 159, and 224 pages. They have only binders' titles: *Recueil de Poésies—Recueil d'Épigrammes—Recueil de Chansons*.

In the *Recueil de Chansons* (p. 7) is found a long letter of Gresset to Mme de Sémonville, which is known to be authentic and has been included by De Beauvillé in his *Poésies inédites de Gresset* (p. 127). It is immediately followed, in my MS, by a letter from Gresset to Mme de Sémonville, as yet unpublished. The fact that it occurs directly after a letter known (since 1827) as Gresset's, pleads strongly in favor of its authenticity. When the MS was written neither of the two letters had appeared in print, and since it has been proved that the possessor of the manuscript was well informed about the authenticity of the first letter to Mme de Sémonville, there is no reason for supposing that he would have been mistaken about the second addressed to the same person. He must have derived them from the same source, at the same time. Besides, the poem is entirely in Gresset's habitual vein: It is a slight and glittering "badinage," with hardly more than a trace of a subject, pleasing, if not over-polished, true to the tradition of Chaulieu and La Fare:

Recueil de Poésies, p. 16:

Par M. Gresset à Madame de Sémonville

Pour le Temple de Thorigny,²
Asile pour nous plus chéri
Qu'aux vrais Musulmans n'est La Mecque,
Nous avons juré que Jeudi
Nous partirions de Mont l'Évêque;

¹ That Gresset's manuscripts were circulated can be seen, for instance, in the *Mémoires secrets* (12 janv. 1762) "On voit dans le public une lettre de M. Gresset à M. le Duc de Choiseul," etc. Another poem in manuscript is referred to on January 28, 1763.

² Department of the Seine and the Marne, in the Arrondissement of Meaux.

Et cependant du Samedi
Nous avons vu naître l'aurore
Sans que nous puissions dire encore
Ni quel jour, ni comment, ni si,
Nous partirions enfin d'ici:
Vous, pour qui je romps un silence
Qui fut forcé jusqu'à ce jour
Faute d'encre ou de diligence,
Vous vous trompez si, pour dispense
Du vain serment d'un prompt retour,
Vous imaginez qu'on n'avance.
Que la beauté de ce séjour:
Le printemps, les eaux, la prairie,
L'ombrage antique de ces pins,
Les fleurs, le nectar, l'ambroisie,
La bonne crème et les lapins.
Tout cela serait peu de chose
Dans les mains d'un maître hébété,
De plus d'un Midas encroûté
Qui ne s'amuse, ni ne cause;
Et si dans un pareil tombeau
Le hasard eut pu nous conduire,
Nous planterions là, sans rien dire
Le châtelain dans son château;
Mais par les grâces et l'aisance
D'un esprit né pour être heureux,
Fait pour cette aimable alliance
Du ton plaisant et du sérieux,
Et pour toute la confiance
D'un commerce délicieux,
L'heureux souverain de ces lieux
En embellit la jouissance,
Nous y tient enchantés tous deux,
Et se charge de la dispense:
Malgré le détestable temps
Que nous souffle le vent de l'Ourse,
Malgré ces brouillards désolants
Qui nous font croire à tous moments
Phébus égaré dans sa course,
Nous avons ici le printemps:
Exempts de regrets pour la ville,
Nuls désirs en ce libre asile
Ne nous resteraient à former

Si quelqu'un qu'on voudrait nommer,
 Qui sait penser, gronder et plaire,
 Venait disputer et charmer
 Dans ce bocage solitaire,
 Où l'on ne s'accorderait guère
 Qu'à la contredire et l'aimer
 Et qu'à l'empêcher de se taire.

The MS *Recueil d'Epigrammes* gives also an epigrammatic letter from Gresset to the same Mme de Sémonville (p. 38):

Par M. Gresset à Madame de Sémonville

Puisque ceux qui n'écrivent pas
 Reçoivent seul l'honneur de la réponse,
 Un silence parfait est tout ce que j'annonce,
 Et si je suis piqué, je le pense tout bas.

The next unpublished poem by Gresset is addressed to the well-known Abbé de Chauvelin, one of the three brothers Chauvelin—the Marquis, the Intendant, and the Abbé—relatives of the Garde des Sceaux of the same name,¹ with whom Gresset was long in friendly relations. The Abbé Henri-Philippe de Chauvelin (1714–70) had his hour of ephemeral celebrity as an opponent of the Jesuits, for whose banishment from France in 1762 he is said to have been largely responsible. He published some polemical works, defended Voltaire's plays against contemporary criticism, and was a habitual figure in the literary drawing-rooms of the time. At a certain moment he was famous enough to see his portrait, framed with that of Henri IV, revered as a symbol of political freedom. He must have met Gresset in the Salon of the Duchess de Chaulnes, who protected the poet (Wogue, p. 99). The attachment of Gresset is evident from a poem to the Abbé de Chauvelin (dated 1738), found in his works, and from a letter which he wrote to him about his difficulties with Voltaire: "J'aurais à vous communiquer des secrets d'où dépendent mon bonheur et ma vie ..." (Cayrol, I, 201). In another letter in verse he acclaims him as "le Phénix des Amis," and refers to the fact that he wrote for him a great deal of verse:

Sur ce pied, cher ami, vous le jugez sans peine,
 De ces archives de ma veine,
 Vous occuperez la moitié. ... (Cayrol, I, 202.)

¹Cf. *Biogr. universelle*; Wogue, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.

The poem published here is a wish for the recovery of the Abbé who is said to have been habitually in bad health (cf. *Biogr. Gén.*). It must belong to the later period of Gresset's life—after 1750—and is remarkable for the tone of complaint about his exile in the provinces. He speaks of the

. antres sauvages

Où mon sort me condamne aux ombres de l'oubli.

Gresset, dissatisfied with the noisy Parisian drawing-rooms, withdrew to the country, but there is sufficient evidence in his work to show that he did not find peace in the "bocages" of his dreams.¹ Nowhere, however, did he refer quite so unmistakably to his disillusionment.

Recueil de Poésies, p. 19:

Mr. Gresset à M. l'Abbé Chauvelin

Malgré l'étoile infortunée
 Qui conduit au hasard, sur le fleuve du temps,
 Ma barque solitaire, errante, abandonnée,
 J'ai partout vu briller quelques heureux instants,
 Et l'ire de ma destinée
 S'est quelquefois parée des roses du printemps;
 Mais jamais aucune journée,
 Illustre et cher ami, n'a tant charmé mes sens,
 Ni mis dans mon désert plus de fleurs et d'encens
 Que ce jour où j'apprends qu'une main souveraine,
 Sensible au salut de vos jours,
 Pour en raffermir l'heureux cours
 Sous un ciel plus doux vous ramène.
 Vous étiez éloigné, languissant, affaibli.
 Je souffrais tous vos maux, tremblant, enseveli
 Dans la douleur profonde et les plus noirs présages:
 L'amitié gémissait dans les antres sauvages
 Où mon sort me condamne aux ombres de l'oubli;
 Vous habitez enfin de plus heureux rivages.
 Mon âme échappe au deuil, aux funèbres images,
 Et mon désert est embelli
 Quand le plus grand des Rois jette un regard de père
 Sur nos maux que nous déplorions:

¹ He wrote to the Abbé Aunillon: "Vous m'avez fait un vrai plaisir en causant un peu de Paris. ... Je vous aurais écouté trois jours et trois nuits. En vérité, c'est porter les lumières dans les brouillards du Spitzberg que d'envoyer quelques pauvres petites nouvelles dans les ténèbres et l'ignorance de la Picardie." (*Revue Rétrospective*, I, 412.)

Ce bienfait me présage une faveur plus chère;
 L'espérance à mes yeux ranimant la lumière
 Développe tous les rayons.
 L'auguste bienfaisance est le vrai caractère
 Du héros que nous adorons.
 Renaissez! Dérobez votre âme lumineuse
 Aux voiles redoublés de l'ennui destructeur:
 A pas lents, mais trop sûrs, sa force impérieuse
 Anéantit notre être en flétrissant le cœur.
 O Toi, le premier bien, Toi, l'âme de la vie,
 Toi sans qui nul bonheur, nul rang digne d'envie
 Pour la fragile humanité,
 Reviens, entends ma voix, divinité chérie,
 Heureuse et brillante Santé!
 Descends, fixe—toi sur l'asile
 Qu'habite le mortel que te nomment mes vœux,
 Ecarte loin de lui les vents tumultueux,
 Rappelle le Zéphir tranquille,
 Le sommeil de la paix et les songes heureux!
 Que tes Nymphes, Io, Naïs et Galatée,
 De son sang ranimé réparant les canaux,
 Des flots de leur veine argentée
 En renouvellent les ruisseaux!
 Pars, épure l'air qu'il respire,
 Eclaircis l'horizon trop longtemps orageux,
 Dans toute leur fraîcheur fais briller à ses yeux
 L'aube, le vert naissant, les fleurs de ton empire!
 Parmi l'oubli des soins, les loisirs et les jeux,
 Remets entre ses mains cette éclatante lyre
 Dont les sons autrefois m'élevaient jusqu'aux cieux.
 Rends-lui la jeunesse des Dieux,
 Et surtout la gaieté que ta présence inspire,
 Cette gaieté naïve et le sage délire
 Qui prolonge la vie et fait les vrais heureux!
 C'en est fait: Le ciel s'intéresse
 A des vœux purs, formés par la seule tendresse
 Dans la vérité des déserts.
 Déjà le char brillant de la jeune Déesse
 Parfume et rafraîchit les airs:
 Je la vois, cher ami, de roses couronnée,
 Bannir le sombre ennui, la crainte, la douleur
 Et recouvrir de fleurs la trame fortunée
 De vos jours et de mon bonheur.

If the career of the Abbé de Chauvelin and his relations with Gresset are well known, no more information seems to exist about his other friend here referred to, Mme de Sémonville, than the letter to her, published in the *Poésies inédites de Gresset*. The Abbé de Chauvelin was an occasional poet—Gresset refers hyperbolically to his “*éclatante lyre*”—and sent some gems of his Muse to Mme de Sémonville. Two of them are found in my MSS. They show that she was a common friend of both Gresset and De Chauvelin, and that the poet's later years in the provinces were enlivened by poetical relations with kindred spirits, whose mediocre poetic talents were devoted to the celebration of their lasting friendship.

Recueil d'Epigrammes, p. 38:

Par M. l'Abbé Chauvelin à Madame de Sémonville

Vous l'ordonnez! Que j'aime à m'y soumettre!
Je sollicite et pour l'amour de vous,
Mon cœur, Eglé, prend la chose à la lettre. ...
Est-il motif plus puissant et plus doux?

Another small poem throws some light on the rather intimate relations of De Chauvelin with Mme De Sémonville, to whom he confided his sorrows:

Recueil d'Epigrammes, p. 41:

Par M. l'Abbé de Chauvelin à Madame de Sémonville

Hier je vous ouvris mon cœur,
Mais je déchirai sa blessure;¹
Ne pensez pas que j'en murmure:
Il n'est plus pour moi de bonheur
Que la douceur vaine et cruelle
De retracer sans cesse une perte immortelle,
Et de répandre ma douleur
Dans le sein d'une amie et sensible et fidèle.

Mme de Sémonville did write some poetry herself, of which my MS contains an example. I quote a few strophes, not to claim any admiration for her slight talent, but as a proof of her taste for poetry,

¹ “Il venait de perdre sa sœur.” (Footnote of the MS.)

which, no doubt, lay at the bottom of her friendly relations with Gresset:

Recueil de Poésies, p. 35:

*Réponse de Madame de Sémonville à Madame d'Arconville qui lui
avait envoyé des vers sous le nom d'un amant*

Vous voulez me dépayser,
Je vous reconnais, belle muse:
Ce n'est point ainsi qu'on m'abuse,
Il fallait mieux vous déguiser.

Mon cœur ne pouvait s'y méprendre;
Vous prenez le ton d'un amant:
Je n'en ai point assurément,
Et bientôt j'ai cru vous entendre.

Faire l'amante ou bien l'amant,
C'est pour vous un pur badinage,
Et vous savez parfaitement
Toutes sortes de personnages, etc.

These few additions to the works of the amiable singer of *Vair-Vert* and the incisive satirist of the *Méchant* add some data to a little-known part of his life and hold out hope that, after all, the destruction of his manuscripts will not prove entirely irreparable.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON SPENSER

Few material facts in the field of Spenserian biography have been brought to light since the publication of Grosart's full but highly unsatisfactory life of the poet. The data here presented, which have thus far escaped the notice of Spenser scholars, cannot pretend to great significance, but they may point the way to a solution of one or two problems.

Among the rewards for service granted by Lord Grey to Spenser in 1582¹ was, as is well known, the "custodiam"² of a tract of land called "Newland," in County Kildare, formerly belonging to one John Eustace. This Eustace was no doubt a member of the family to which the rebel leader, James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, belonged. The grant could have been made only on the ground that John Eustace was himself "attainted" of treason. Nothing is known concerning Spenser's disposition of the property. No documents have been discovered which show that he either improved it or disposed of it. As a matter of fact, it seems doubtful whether he retained it long, if indeed he ever obtained possession of it. Among the names of those appointed on May 21, 1583,³ as commissioners for musters in County Kildare, among whom Spenser was one, appears that of "John Eustace of Newland." Again, the next year, Eustace's name appears, with Spenser's, as a member of the same commission.⁴ This Eustace could hardly have been other than the original owner of the estate granted to Spenser. While there were doubtless several John Eustaces in County Kildare, and possibly more than

¹ See *State Papers of Ireland (1574-85)*, p. 345; F. I. Carpenter, *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, p. 31.

² A "custodiam" is, in Irish law (*New English Dictionary*), a "grant by the Exchequer (for three years) of lands, etc., in possession of the Crown." There were, it seems, in Spenser's time, certain conditions attached to the enjoyment of a custodiam; see a communication from Queen Elizabeth to Geoffrey Fenton in 1585, entitled, "Heads of an Instruction for Secretary Fenton, Esq., to Be Communicated to the Lord Deputy," etc. (Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, I [1772], 75).

³ *Pianta Elizabeth*, No. 4150. See F. I. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Spenser's presence on this commission was first pointed out by P. M. Buck, Jr., in "New Facts concerning the Life of Edmund Spenser," *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 237-38.

⁴ *Pianta*, No. 4464.

one estate called "Newland," it is certainly unlikely that there were two John Eustaces "of Newland." The presence of the name of Eustace, conjoined with that of his estate, in these documents must mean two things: that he was not then regarded as a "traitor," and that he was in possession of Newland.

If these conclusions are correct, why did the estate, formally and validly granted to Spenser by the lord deputy, pass back into the hands of its former owner in less than ten months? Two or three explanations are possible, none of which, however, is entirely satisfactory. The most obvious is that Spenser, unable or unwilling to fulfil the conditions imposed by the custodiam, lost possession by default. In that case the property would have reverted to the crown, and would no doubt have been regranted to some other English official or "loyal" Irishman, unless the former owner had then received a pardon. Or Spenser may have disposed of his grant to Eustace for a consideration. So long, however, as the latter was regarded as a "traitor," such a transaction was unlikely. Finally, there is the possibility that, on account of technical legal obstacles, Spenser was never able to obtain possession of the estate. There is abundant testimony in the *Irish State Papers* of this period to the numerous difficulties encountered by English colonists in Ireland in their attempts to settle on "escheated" lands.¹ Spenser may have given up in disgust, after unsuccessful attempts to enjoy his custodiam. But it seems unlikely that he would have relinquished his claim without a recorded protest, in view of his official position and influence.

These theories may explain why Spenser was not, apparently, in possession of Newland in 1583 and 1584; they do not explain the presence on the aforementioned commission of an "attained" traitor. A possible explanation lies in the obvious inference that Eustace, like many Irishmen involved in rebellion who were not important enough to be prosecuted by the government, received a pardon, and was thus under no civil disability. We find, in the series of documents already cited, more than a hint that such was

¹ See note to *Piants*, No. 5033 (Appendix to the *Sixteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland*, p. 31): "The following remark appears in the Auditor General's collection entitled 'Schedule of Lands in Munster Passed to Undertakers, 1599': 'Memorandum, that the patentees could never gett possession of the premyssees, and therefore to be considered of.'"

the case. According to *Fiants*, Number 3996, bearing the date of August 26, 1582, one John Eustace is included in a list of those who on that day received pardons. Whether or not he was the John Eustace of Newland, County Kildare, is not indicated; but in the same list is named one Wogan, of that county. It is possible, then, that the owner of Newland was restored to full civil rights very soon after his property was granted to the lord deputy's chief secretary; and that this pardon, conferred five days before Lord Grey surrendered his sword,¹ reduced at least one of Spenser's "rewards" to tantalizing nothingness.

It is well known, of course, that Barnabe Googe spent some years in Ireland during Spenser's residence there;² but, so far as I am aware, no facts definitely connecting the two have been published. There is, however, a bit of evidence among the *State Papers* which heightens the probability that Lord Grey's secretary and the protégé of Lord Burghley met in Ireland just as Grey was preparing to return home. Googe, who came to Ireland as early as 1574, had gone back to England, and revisited Ireland, it seems, on the eve of Grey's departure. Writing to Burghley on November 12, 1584,³ concerning some office in the Irish service, apparently promised him by Grey but not obtained, he said: "The Lord Graye leavyng Ireland att my comynge hathe left mee nothyng butt hys baare hande for the Offyce, whych I feare is too weake a Tytle to hold itt by." If he made personal suit to Grey for an office, it is more than likely that his business was known to Spenser, who probably also met the applicant personally. Googe's presence in Ireland in August, 1582, is attested by a letter of the twenty-seventh of that month.⁴ He was in Dublin again in 1584.⁵ That Spenser should have failed to cultivate the acquaintance of a man of literary tastes, already known as a poet, while opportunity afforded,⁶ is hard to believe. It seems reasonable,

¹ Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 97.

² See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article "Googe, Barnabe"; *Notes and Queries*, Ser. III, Vol. III, pp. 141, 181, 241, 301, 361.

³ The letter is printed in part in *ibid.*, p. 361.

⁴ *State Papers of Ireland* (1574-85), p. 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 530, 532; letters of October 19 and October 23.

⁶ Googe seems to have left Ireland in 1585 (see letter of Lord Deputy Perrot, *State Papers of Ireland* [1574-85], p. 56). There is no evidence that he returned to Ireland after this date.

then, to assume that Googe is to be included in Spenser's "circle" in Ireland.

That Spenser, as principal secretary to Lord Grey, accompanied his employer on all his official journeys we may take for granted in the absence of testimony to the contrary. Likewise, we may assume that on state occasions in or near Dublin the deputy's immediate household was present with him. One of these ceremonials, which the viceroy would naturally attend if he was in the capital city at the time, was the set feast provided by the mayor and sheriffs of the city on Easter Monday at "Cullenswood," outside the walls of Dublin. According to the *Ancient Records of Dublin*¹ Lord Grey was present at this feast in 1581. This fact may be accepted tentatively, at least, as evidence as to Spenser's life in Dublin.

The relation of these minutiae to the life of Spenser is, to be sure, conjectural; but since they have direct bearing on three important phases of his residence in Ireland—his experiments in landholding, his "circle," and his activities in Dublin—they have a certain value.

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¹ Ed., J. T. Gilbert, II, 155, and Preface, p. x.

G. W. SENIOR AND G. W. I.

Two sonnets "To the Author" were prefixed to Spenser's *Amoretti* in 1595, whether by the poet himself or by his publisher Ponsonby. They were evidently written by admirers of Spenser—probably by friends of his. The names of the writers doubtless could be guessed by most contemporary readers. They are not so easy for us to guess, and yet we are curious to know who were these friends of Spenser's.

"G. W. Senior" suggests that "G. W. I." stands for "G. W. Junior," obviously father and son.

Todd's guess is that "G. W. Senior" is George Whetstone, the poet. This necessitates the creation of a George Whetstone, Junior, to fit the "G. W. I.," although no evidence of the existence of a George Whetstone, Junior, is adduced. Moreover, George Whetstone, the poet, is believed to have died *ca.* 1587. As Collier notes, he appears to have shown ignorance of the authorship of the *Shepherds' Calender*, and there is no other evidence that he was a member of Spenser's "Circle." So the Whetstones seem a bad guess, in spite of the fact that George Whetstone, Senior, in his day apparently had a passion for writing commendatory verses.

Other G. W.'s of the period likewise seem to fall by the way, such as George Walker (1581–1656), George Waterhouse (d. 1602), George Webb (1581–1642), George Weymouth (fl. 1605), and George Wilson (fl. 1607), either because they were too young in 1595, or because their interests and careers were too remote from Spenser's (composer, voyager, vicar, and writer on cock-fighting, etc.), and especially because in no case does the requisite "junior" appear.

One would like to establish a connection between Spenser and Geoffrey Whitney (1548?–1601?), the author of the book of *Emblems*, with which the former was probably acquainted. Whitney was "the son of a father of the same name" (*DNB*), but if this father is the "G. W. Senior," his sonnet to Spenser must have been composed in his seventies—more probably in his eighties. Whitney, Junior, was educated partly at Cambridge, and Leicester was his patron. This pair offers a possible solution.

Giles Wigginton (fl. 1564-97), the Cambridge Calvinist and Puritan, imprisoned and deprived by Whitgift, but restored by Burghley in 1592, may have appealed to the sympathies of the poet of the *Shepherds' Calender*, but is not likely to have been in the circle of the amorist and sonneteer of 1595. Moreover, again the "Junior" is lacking.

But in addition to the Whitneys there is still another pair that may be stretched to fit the case. There is record of a George Wilkins "the Poet," who died in London in 1603. Sir Sidney Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, conjectures that he "may have been father of the dramatist and pamphleteer." Nothing further is known of him save the entry of his death with its reference to him as "the Poet." George Wilkins (possibly "Junior"), the dramatist, is better known, both for his own work and for his connection with Shakespeare. It is quite possible that the father as a very minor (and unpublished) poet, probably in touch with men of letters in London, may have met Spenser there, together with his son, and that both were drawn to write sonnets in praise of the greater luminary.

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MAROT'S PREFACE TO HIS EDITION OF VILLON'S WORKS

Although literary criticism may long be said to have become the monopoly of a few professionals, it is nevertheless still delightful to read what one poet says of another. From this point of view Marot's Preface to his edition of the works of François Villon is intensely interesting. It is also one of the earliest attempts at serious criticism in French literature. As certain passages of the Preface require explanation and since one must consider the document as a whole in order to estimate Marot properly in his rôle of critic, the Preface is here reproduced *in toto*.

Préface des poesies de Villon.
(1532)

Clément Marot de Cahors aux lecteurs

Entre tous les bons livres imprimez de la langue françoise, ne s'en veoit ung si incorrect ne si lourdement corrompu que celui de Villon; et m'esbahy (veu que c'est le meilleur poete parisien qui se trouve) comment les imprimeurs de Paris, et les enfans de la ville n'en ont eu plus grand soing. Je ne suy (certes) en rien son voisin; mais pour l'amour de son gentil entendement, et en recompense de ce que je puis avoir aprins de luy en lisant ses œuvres, j'ay faict à ycelles ce que je voudrais estre faict aux miennes, si elles estoient tombées en semblable inconvenient; tant y ay trouvé de brouillerie en l'ordre des coupletz et des vers, en mesure, en langage, en la ryme et en la raison, que je ne sçay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'œuvre ainsi oultrement gastée, ou de l'ignorance de ceulx qui l'imprimerent; et pour vous en faire preuve me suis advisé (lecteurs) de vous mettre icy un des coupletz incorrects du mal imprimé Villon, qui vous sera exemple et tesmoing d'un grand nombre d'autres autant broillez et gastez que luy, lequel est tel:

Or est vray qu'apres plainctz et pleurs,
Et angoisseux gémissements,
Après tristesse et douleurs,
Labeurs et griefs cheminements,
Travaille mes lubres sentemens
Aguisez ronds, comme une pelote
Monstrent plus que les comments
En sens moral d'Aristote.

Qui est celluy qui voudroit nier le sens n'en estre grandement corrompu ? Ainsi pour vray l'ay je trouvé aux vieilles impressions, et encores pis aux nouvelles. Or voyez maintenant comment il a esté rhabillé, et en jugez gracieusement :

Or est vray qu'apres plainctz et pleurs
Et angoisseux gémissements,
Après tristesses et douleurs,
Labeurs et griefz cheminements,
Travail mes lubres sentemens
Aguysa (ronds comme pelote)
Me monstrant plus que les comments
Sur le sens moral d'Aristote.

Voylà comment il me semble que l'auteur l'entendoit, et vous suffise ce petit amendement, pour vous rendre advertiz de ce que puis avoir amendé en mille autres passages, dont les aucuns me ont esté aisez, et les autres tresdifficiles: toutesfoys, partie par l'ayde des bons vieillards qui en sçavent par cuer, et partie par deviner avecques jugement naturel, a esté reduict notre Villon en meilleure et plus entiere forme qu'on ne l'a veu de noz aages, et ce sans avoir touché à l'antiquité de son parler, à sa façon de rimer, à ses meslées et longues paranthèses, à la quantité de ses syllabes, ne à ses couppes, tant femenines que masculines, esquelles choses il n'a suffisamment observé les vrayes reigles de françoysse poesie, et ne suis d'advis que en cela les jeunes poetes l'ensuyvent, mais bien qu'ils cueillent ses sentences comme belles fleurs, et qu'ilz contemplent l'esprit qu'il avoit, que de luy ilz apreignent à proprement descrire, et qu'ilz contrefacent sa veine, mesmement celle dont il use dans ses ballades, qui est vrayement belle et heroïque; et ne fay doubte qu'il n'eust emporté le chapeau de laurier devant tous les poetes de son temps s'il eust été nourry en la court des roys et des princes, là où les jugemens se amendent et les langages se polissent. Quant à l'industrie de ses lays qu'il fait en ses *Testamens*, pour suffisamment la cognoistre et entendre, il faudroit avoir esté de son temps à Paris, et avoir cogneu les lieux, les choses et les hommes dont il parle, la memoire desquelz tant plus se passera, tant moins se congnoistra icelle industrie de ses lays dictz. Pour cette cause, qui voudra faire une œuvre de longue durée, ne preigne son sugect sur telles choses basses et perticulieres. Le reste des œuvres de nostre Villon (hors cela) est de tel artifice, tant plein de bonne doctrine et tellement painct de mille couleurs, que le temps qui tout efface, jusques icy ne l'a sçeu effacer, et moins encores l'effacera ores et d'icy en avant que les bonnes escriptures françoises sont et seront mieulx congnes et recueillies que jamais.

Et pource (comme j'ay dict) que je n'ay touché à son antique façon de parler, je vous ay exposé sur la marge, avecques les annotations, ce qui m'a semblé le plus dur à entendre, laissant le reste à vos promptes intelligences, comme *ly roys* pour *le roy*, *homs* pour *homme*, *compaing* pour *compaignon*; force pluriers pour singuliers, et plusieurs autres incongruitez dont estoit

plein le langage mal lymé d'icelluy temps. Apres, quand il s'est trouvé faulte de vers entiers j'ay prins peine de les refaire au plus pres (selon mon possible) de l'intencion de l'auteur: les trouverez expressement marquez de ceste marque,† afin que ceulx qui les sçauront en la sorte que Villon les fist, effacent les nouveaulx pour faire place aux vieulx.

Oultre plus, les termes et les vers qui estoient interposez trouverez reduictz à leur place, les lignes trop courtes alongées, les trop courtes accoursies, les motz obmys remys, les adjoustez ostez, et les tiltres myeulz attiltrez.

Finablement, j'ay changé l'ordre du livre, et m'a semblé plus raisonnable de le faire commencer par le *Petit Testament*, d'autant qu'il fut faict cinq ans avant l'autre.

Touchant le jargon, je le laisse à corriger et exposer aux successeurs de Villon en l'art de la pinse et du croq.

Et si quelc'un, d'aventure, veult dire que tout ne soit racoustré ainsi qu'il appartient, je luy respons qué s'il estoit autant navré en sa personne comme j'ay trouvé Villon blessé en ses œuvres, il n'y a expert chirurgien qui le sceut penser sans apparence de cicatrice; et me suffira que le labeur qu'en ce j'ay employé soit agreable au roy mon souverain, qui est cause et motif de ceste emprise et de l'execution d'icelle, pour avoir veu volentiers escouter et par très bon jugement estimer plusieurs passages des œuvres qui s'ensuyvent.

From Marot himself we learn that he undertook the task of editing Villon at the request of the king, François I. This young monarch's interest seems to have been more than the usual polite fiction of the courtier. Not only, says Marot, was François the "cause et motif" of the enterprise, but he liked to have Villon's poetry read aloud to him, and on occasion deigned to pass kingly judgment thereon.

In the following *huitain* Marot has gracefully acknowledged his debt to royal initiative.

Au roy François Ier.
 Si à Villon on treuve encor à dire
 S'il n'est reduict ainsi qu'ay pretendu,
 A moy tout seul en soit le blasme (Sire),
 Qui plus y ay travaillé qu'entendu:
 Et s'il est mieulx en son ordre estendu
 Que paravent, de sorte qu'on l'en prise,
 Le gré à vous en doyt estre rendu,
 Qui fustes seul cause de l'entreprise.

Marot's edition of the poems of Villon was published in 1532 by Galliot du Pré, a Parisian publisher who had already issued in

July of that year an edition of Villon's works. This edition contained, however, many apocryphal poems such as *Les Repues franches*, *Le Monologue du franc archer de Bagnolet*, and *Le dialogue de Mallepaye et Baillevent*. Now, we know from Marot's letter to Etienne Dolet that he himself bitterly resented being saddled with poems which he had not written and which he felt might injure his reputation in the eyes of posterity, so we may surmise that it was he who first apprised Galiot of the faultiness of his edition and first suggested himself as editor of the emended version.

Now, even fifteenth-century publishers did not work for love or royal approbation: Villon must have been, in the jargon of today, "a best seller" if we judge by the number of editions prior to that of Marot. Paul Lacroix¹ indicates fifteen, of which the second, that is, the first bearing a date, appeared in 1489. The fifteenth is that published on July 20, 1532.

The number of reimpressions of Marot's revision of the poems of Villon is a sufficient criterion of the popularity of both poet and editor. Of reimpressions actually indicated as revised by Marot or copied from the Marotian edition, we have the following: (a) Pub. Galliot du Pré, Paris, no date. (b) Pub. François Regnault (quoted as Paris, Denis Lelong, in Laraguais' catalogue). (c) An edition, n.d. with the inscription, *On les vend en la boutique de Jehan Andry*. (d) *chez François Juste, devant Notre Dame de Confort*, Lyon, 1537. (e) *On les vend en la rue Saint Jacques à l'enseigne de l'homme sauvage chez Nicolas Gilles*, vers 1540. This edition, says Lacroix, was specially made so as to be added to the edition of the works of Clément Marot printed at Paris 1540, 1542, and 1544. (f) Ambroise Gyrault, Paris, 1542. (g) An edition of Villon's works, Alain Lotrain, Paris, 1542. In the opinion of Brunet this edition is a copy of the Marot version of 1533. (h) *Les œuvres de F.V. (avec les notes de Clément Marot et d'Eusèbe de Laurière et une lettre de M. de ... par le P. de Cerceau)*. Coustelier, Paris, 1723.

Now the secret of successful advertising consists in the polite disparagement of your competitor's wares. That this was as true in the sixteenth as in the twentieth century we may see from Marot's

¹ *Œuvres de François Villon*. Flammarion. Preface.

modest réclame. Speaking of previous editions of Villon, he says: "Tant y ay trouvé de brouillerie en l'ordre des coupletz et des vers, en mesure, en langage, en la ryme et en la raison, que je ne sçay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'œuvre ainsi oultrement gastée, ou de l'ignorance de ceulx qui l'imprimerent." As a specimen of his editorial skill he gives us his emended version of the second half of the twelfth *huitain* of the *Grand Testament*. His original he takes from the 1532 edition of Galliot du Pré. The passage, according to Lacroix, is "peu intelligible dans les manuscrits comme dans les éditions." Marot, by the way, did not know the manuscripts. According to Lacroix, neither was he familiar with the fifteenth-century editions, though in view of this passage which I quote from the Preface I hardly think Lacroix is justified in his assertion. "Ainsi pour vray l'ay trouvé aux *vieilles* impressions et encores pis aux *nouvelles*." (Marot is referring to the XIIth *huitain* of the *Grand Testament*.) His sources as enumerated in the Preface are "les vieulx imprimez ...," "l'ayde des bons vieillardz qui en sçavent par cuer," and his "jugement naturel." If we accept the verdict of Guiffrey¹ Marot, in his work of emendation has been the victim of his "jugement naturel." Guiffrey says: "Enfin Marot, fait sonner trop haut ses rares et souvent insignifiantes rectifications. Il est même à regretter qu'il n'ait point assez tenu compte des éditions originales, où l'on trouve le texte dans la plus grande pureté."

As a matter of interest I append four versions of the last half of the *huitain* which so exercised Marot.

Galliot du Pré, 1532.

Travaille mes lubres sentemens
Aguysez ronds, comme pelote
Monstrent plus que les commens
En sens moral d'Aristote.

Prompsault (MS of Bib. Nat., 20041).

Travail mes lubres sentemens
Aguisez rondz comme pelote
M'ouvrist plus que tous les commens
En sens moral d'Aristote.

¹ *Clément Marot, Œuvres*, Vol. II. p. 264, n. 1.

Marot's edition, 1533

Travail mes lubres sentemens
 Aguysa (ronds comme pelote)
 Me monstrant plus que les comments
 Sur le sens moral d'Aristote.

Lacroix's version¹

Trouve mes lubres sentemens,
 Esguisez comme une pelote
 Mouvoir plus que tous les Commens
 D'Averroys sur Aristote.

Commenting on his specimen amendment Marot naïvely remarks: "Voilà comment il me semble que l'auteur l'entendoit, et vous suffise ce petit amendement, pour vous rendre advertiz de ce que puis avoir amendé en mille autres passaiges, dont les aucuns me ont esté aisez, et les aultres tresdifficiles." It must be a matter for consolation to our patient modern commentators of Villon to read the closing words of this quotation. After all, at the date of Marot's writing, in 1533, only seventy-two years had elapsed since the first appearance of the *Grand Testament*. The first edition bearing a date is that of 1489. In the interval between the first appearance of the *Grand Testament*, 1461 and 1489—twenty-eight years—there is a paucity of manuscripts. Prompsault cites only two for the fifteenth century and Lacroix one. All sorts of errors and misquotations obviously arose. These multiplied as edition succeeded edition culminating in the confusion indicated by Marot in his Preface. It is interesting to note that he relied to some extent on the versions of Villon's poems furnished from memory by various old gentlemen of his acquaintance—"des bons vieillards qui en sçavent par cueur." Those of us who have heard for example, memory versions of Burns's poems from the lips of old Scotsmen, "qui en sçavent par cueur," will realize to what extent the original version may thus be distorted. It is possible that one of Marot's good old gentlemen was his own father, Jean Marot who knew his Villon and indeed quotes the Parisian poet in a begging epistle to the "trésorier Robertet."

Et comme dit Villon en ses brocars
 De ma santé je viendrais aux lombars
 Voire mes ans se argent voulaient produire.

¹ Villon, *Œuvres* (Flammarion, Paris), p. 66.

When Marot enters on the criticism of Villon's technique he does so with the sureness of a connoisseur. He explains that in his work of emendation he has not touched on Villon's "façon de rimer, à ses meslées et longues paranthèses, à la quantité de ses syllabes, ne à ses coupes, tant femenines que masculines." He warns contemporary poets against imitating the fifteenth-century man in these particulars, wherein, he thinks the latter has not "suffisamment observé les vraies reigles de françoise poesie."

Marot, it will be seen, displays no hesitation, no diffidence in his critical pronouncements. And, indeed, there is no reason why he should. Just as much as Ronsard and Malherbe and nearly as much as Boileau, he kinged it in contemporary poetic society. He was deferred to by every poet in France and nothing of poetic value was published without first passing under the eye of the *maître*. His ideal is in no way different from that of Ronsard, Malherbe, and Boileau. It is to purge the French language of confusion and obscurity. That is what he is attacking here in the Preface. He anticipates Boileau's:

Que toujours le bon sens s'accorde avec le rime.

And this is how he puts it in his *Response à un rondeau qui se commençoit, "Maître Clement, mon bon amy"*:

Bien inventer, vous fault premierement
L'invention deschiffrer proprement
Si que raison et rithme ne soit morte en un rondeau.
Usez de mots receuz communement,
Rien superflu ne soit aucunement. ...

"Rithme et raison" is his *cri de guerre*. In the *Epistre à Sagon* which is Marot's *Art poétique* he returns again to the charge.

Mais il convient garder rithme et raison
Rithme et raison, ainsi comme il me semble
Doivent toujours estre logez ensemble. ...

In his estimate of the artistic merit of Villon's poetry, Marot is generous and, unlike most literary prophets, accurate. He places his finger unerringly on the three master-qualities of Villonesque poetry—*esprit*, descriptive power, and *veine héroïque*. The poetic genius displayed in the *Ballades* is, he points out, really beautiful. He deprecates, however, the topical nature of the *lays*. The interest

of these, he infers, has passed away. To appreciate Villon's genius here one must have known the places, the things, and the men he speaks of, "la mémoire desquelz tant plus se passera tant moins se congnoistra icelle industrie de ses lays dictz." Here Marot goes straight to the cardinal weakness of Villon's poetry. If a poet is to achieve immortality, he says, he must not choose as his subjects things which are "basses et particulieres." Villon, like so many painters of contemporary manners, in his zeal to be faithful to life errs from excess of detail. It is true that in the *Testament* he gives us a vivid and exact portrait of the milieu in which he lived. But, as Marot shows us, it is too topical, too fragmentary, to make the work one of "longue durée." Long before Boileau, Marot grasped the significance of the axiom:

Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.

The realist, and Villon was essentially a realist, when he fails to satisfy the requirements of poetic art does so because he does not exercise the elective faculty of the true artist and present only the essential and universally true.

One passage of the Preface is, however, a striking example of the fallibility of literary taste. Reflecting the opinion of his period Marot says of Villon: "s'il eust esté nourry en la court des roys et des princes, là où les jugemens se amendent et les langages se polissent," he would have borne the palm among the poets of his day. Today we can afford to smile at the unconscious condescension of the courtier-poet, though there is an irritating smugness in the words of this successful laureate. When we read the *Dit de la naissance de Marie de Bourgogne* and *La Ballade contre les mesdisans de la France* and the ballade written in honor of Ambroise de Lorede, we have reason to be heartily grateful that royal hospitality, so far as François Villon is concerned, did not extend beyond the dungeons of the Châtelet prison.

And yet, in the main, Marot's estimate has received the *cachet* of succeeding generations of critics. Opinion in favor of Villon has gained in ardor with the passing of centuries. It is true that Ronsard and the Pléiade look askance at the *pauvre escollier*; but, then, to be praised by the Pléiade is distinctly compromising. Regnier, Patru, Boileau—who I feel sure had never read Boileau and praises him at

second hand—Lafontaine, le P. de Cerceau, Daunon, and Villemain all add their quota to the rising tide of approbation. Brunetière is a notable exception. Somewhere he remarks that to establish the value of a poet it is enough to apply the following touchstone to his work: "What did he say of nature, love and death?" Villon was not a poet of external nature but when he sings of the mysteries of love and death his verse vibrates with the melody of true poetry. And yet Brunetière classes Villon as second rate and sweepingly asserts that French poetry begins with Ronsard!

Marot's summing up is roughly that the *Testaments* would not live and that posterity would remember Villon only by his *Ballades*. I fear that his verdict holds good today. It is true we witnessed toward the end of last century a Villon "cult," but that was only the ephemeral whim of a few *précieux*. The average reader, if he knows Villon at all, knows him only for his *Belle Heaulmière* or his *Ballade des Pendus*.

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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH SIR PERCEVAL¹

XIX

Battles between fairy folk and Fomorians were common in Irish story

The conclusion of the last page that the English *Sp* (*Sir Perceval*) is connected (through French and Welsh intermediaries) with certain Irish stories about Finn has nothing paradoxical about it. The story of a wonder-child who rescues his enslaved or enchanted people from giant foes was one of the most widely known of Irish mythical tales. It was, in fact, the central incident of the war of gods and giants in Irish pagan mythology. Irish saga-heroes, including Finn, borrowed attributes, talismans, and adventures from the earlier gods. Likewise, in Welsh, King Arthur undoubtedly fell heir to some of the paraphernalia of Welsh mythology. It is not an astounding thing to find a well-known mythical tale told in Ireland of Finn, and in Wales of an Arthurian knight.²

The next pages will examine the relationship of the theme of a wonder-child to the combat between gods and giants. First, it may be well to observe that battles between gods and giants play a large part in Irish fairy literature. Numerous Irish stories are founded on the idea of a combat between two races of other-world beings—the benevolent fairies or Tuatha Dé Danann³ on the one hand, and the malevolent giants or Fomorians on the other. The occasion of these combats is invariably an attempt on the part of the fairies to extricate themselves from some kind of bondage or enchantment that has been fastened upon them by the giants.

¹ Continued from *Modern Philology*, XVI, 553-68; XVII, 361-82; XVIII, 201-28; 661-73.

² Points of contact between the Arthur and the Finn cycles were indicated by Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 140 f.; II, 25 f.; and *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891), 186. The important thing is that stories were transferred from gods to heroes. See John MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (1921), p. 51.

³ Tuatha Dé Danann = T.D.D. in the following pages.
[*MODERN PHILOLOGY*, August, 1924]

Well-known stories of this type¹ which belong to a period long before the rise of Arthurian romance are the *Serglige Conculaind* and the *Echtra Loegaire*. In the *Serglige Conculaind*,² Cuchulinn delivered fairyland from three tyrants: Senach Sfabortha, Eochaid Iúil, and Eogan Inbir. In the *Echtra Loegaire*, Loegaire saved fairyland from the oppression of Goll, son of Dolb.³ A similar incident forms the concluding part of *The Exile of the Sons of Doel Dermait*, a tale which does not appear, like those just mentioned, in ancient MSS, but which is undoubtedly too old to be influenced in any way by Arthurian romance. Thurneysen, after noting the ancient language of this tale, says: "Erzählungen dieser Art, die gewiss auch bei den britannischen Kelten Parallelen hatten, sind wohl die Muster für die ähnlich gefügten Abenteuerromane der französischen Dichter wie Chrétien von Troyes gewesen."⁴ This tale relates how Cuchulinn slew a giant, Eochó Glas, and released the fairies of the valley to whom the giant had done injury. The fairies bathed in the blood of the giant and were cured of their wounds.⁵

Among later Irish stories of the type, that called *Giolla an Fhiuga* is particularly instructive. It tells how Murough slew a giant who was oppressing Mag Mell.⁶ That this type of plot was known in Wales before the rise of Arthurian romance is shown by the incident in the First Branch of the Mabinogi, where Pwyll rescues a fairy king, Arawn, from Hafgan.⁷

XX

An epitome of the "Battle of Moytura" is in LL, a MS of ca. 1160

These stories are perhaps all offshoots from the central incident in an Irish battle of gods and giants in which a wonder-child, Lug, slew Balor, a one-eyed giant, and delivered the Tuatha Dé Danann

¹ A Märchen type of story about a giant who holds captive a lady also existed (see Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 232), and was often confused with the type of plot mentioned above.

² See (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 34 f.

³ See *Modern Philology*, XIII, 731 f.

⁴ *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (1921), p. 468.

⁵ Windisch *Irische Texte*, II, 1, 184, 206.

⁶ See (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 101-13.

⁷ Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I (1913), 88 f.

from bondage.¹ This Irish tale of the battle of gods and giants which we are about to examine does not exist in any Märchen-like or primitive form, but only as transcribed by Christian Irish annalists. Although the earliest Christian scribes, who, for example, wrote down the stories of the Ulster Cycle, showed a remarkable tolerance of heathen ideas, yet they were succeeded by scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries whose methods were to eliminate the marvelous and to record mythological tales as a part of the supposed history of Ireland.² The only account of the battle of gods and giants that exists in an ancient MS is such a thoroughly euhemerized epitome. It appears in a version of the so-called "Book of Conquests" (*Leabhar Gabhála* = *LG*) which is contained in *LL*, and which was therefore written down about 1160.³

After mentioning the first battle of Moytura⁴ between the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Fir Bolg, the epitome speaks at once of the Stone of Destiny: "It was the Tuatha Dé Danann brought with them the great Fál, i.e., the Stone of Knowledge which was in Tara, from which Ireland is called the Plain of Fál. He under whom it would cry out was the King of Ireland." It did not cry out after the time of Cuchulinn "except under Conn alone. Its heart then burst out of it from Tara unto Tailtiu, so that is the heart of Fál. Really it was not that [i.e., Conn's approach] which caused it, but Christ being born that broke the power of the idols."⁵ The king of the Tuatha Dé

¹ See a remark of the poet Yeats: "The shadow of battle was over all Celtic mythology, for the gods established themselves in battle against the Fomor or powers of darkness." "Prisoners of the Gods," *Nineteenth Century*, XLIII (1898), 104; and compare Ehrismann, *P. and B. Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 18 f.

² See John MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, pp. 38 f.; Westropp, *Proceedings of RIA*, XXXIV (1918), 138, 169.

³ On the date of *LL* see L. Gwynn, *Eriu*, VIII (1916), 114; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (1921), pp. 33 f.

⁴ D'Arbois, *Cours*, V, 397-401, prints a translation of this epitome from *LL*, 8550-9617. Because the earliest mention of two battles of Moytura is in *Plann of Monaster*, A.D. 1050, d'Arbois argues that there was originally but one battle. It is true that the text called "The First Battle of Moytura" (printed and translated by J. Fraser, *Eriu*, VIII, 1915) is a confused version of the second battle. There is nothing, however, to prove that two battles were not in the original tradition, and reasons will appear for thinking that this was the case. Fir Bolg were probably identical with Fomorians. See Rhys, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, "The Coligny Calendar" (1910), p. 251; [Fir Bolg in the Battle of Moytura] "I take to have been one of the names of the Fomor."

⁵ Baudis' translation from *LL*, *Eriu*, VIII (1917), 106. This is the only trace of the supernatural which the *LL* epitome preserves. Perhaps the Lia Fáil, as the most famous of Irish heathen talismans, was too well known to be omitted. The scribe turns it to edification by his remark about the birth of Christ.

Danann was Nuadu Airgetlam (silver-hand), who, because his hand was cut off in the first battle of Moytura, was deprived of the kingship. After the first battle, Bress resigned for seven years. [As Bress is not connected with the T.D.D., it is evident that he was a usurper.]

At the end of seven years a silver hand was made for Nuadu, and he resumed the kingship, which he held for twenty years. Queen Tailtiu, whose first husband had been slain in the first battle, and whose second husband was Eochu of the T.D.D., withdrew to the forest of Cuan where she cleared and planted ground and where she brought up Lug. Lug was of mixed descent. His father Cian was of the T.D.D., but his mother Ethne was daughter of Balor the Fomorian. Lug afterward established in honor of his foster-mother the games of Tailtiu which are held every year at Lughnasad (August 1).

In the second battle of Moytura, Nuada was killed by Balor. The victory, however, came to the T.D.D., for Lug "with a stone from his sling killed Balor,"¹ and ruled over Ireland for forty years. "Between the two battles of Moytura twenty-seven years intervened."

Anybody familiar with folk tales will perhaps grant at once that the story summarized above must be pseudo-history which has been concocted out of a mythological tale about a wonder-child.² Lug, the hero, was brought up by a foster-mother in a forest. For twenty-seven years between the two battles the T.D.D. were in bondage, and their king Nuadu was wounded. Lug put an end to this bondage by killing Balor just as Perceval killed the Red Knight.

XXI

The "Battle of Moytura" was fought between fairy folk and Fomorians

We are not obliged, however, without more proof to accept this brief annalistic account as evidence for a background of mythological

¹ LL, RIA facsimile, 9b7 "doroch lais arsnath cocloic assa tabaill." "Balor" is written over the line, but the meaning is in any case clear.

² For example, H. Lessman, *Die Kyrossage in Europa* (1906), pp. 12-18, sees in this LL epitome the same formula as in the story of Cyrus, of Romulus, of Hamlet, etc. On the formula idea see *Mitra*, I (1914), 162-75; Nutt, "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula," *Folk-Lore Record*, IV (1881); Woods, *PMLA*, XXVII (1912), 524-67; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*; Panzer, *Studien z. Germ. Sagen Geschichte*.

story. Fortunately, we have an Irish text preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript which must represent (allowing for a few interpolations) pretty nearly what the annalist who wrote the euhemerized account in *LL* had before him. This text is the *Cath Maige Turedh* (*CMT*), or "The Second Battle of Moytura." Good reasons exist for thinking that *CMT* was known substantially in its present form before 1100; some of which are: that the language, allowing for later spelling, and for a Norse loan-word or two,¹ is of the older period; that *Cormac's Glossary* [s.v. *cernine*, *nescoil*] quotes from a text exactly like ours; and that the annalistic author of the epitome in *LL* seems to be summarizing our *CMT*,² with which he agrees except in three episodes omitted in the following summary:³

CMT begins by mentioning not merely the Lia Fáil but the other well-known "jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danann": the ever victorious spear of Lug, the irresistible sword of Nuadu, and the unfailing cauldron of the Dagda.⁴ It is no accident surely that the story begins in this way. The action depends upon talismans. Nor is it chance that the next thing told of is the birth of Lug "the wonder-child" (*an gein mbhuada*). Both of these statements are made like notes

¹ Like *scildei*, § 28. See Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII, 52.

² Van Hamel, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, X (1914), 191-92: "The redactor of X" (a version of *LG* which was complete about the year 1000) "knew *CMT* in an older and better version and selected several traits from it." "The expressions and phrases used in *LG* are in so many respects the same as in *CMT* that this section of *LG* must be based upon the tale just mentioned. The contrary could not be the case, *CMT* giving a much more circumstantial account of the events." Van Hamel's view is that mythical giants called Fomorians were transformed into supposedly historical invaders of Ireland. Pokorny has more recently urged (*Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XI [1917], 198 f.) that real historical invaders of Ireland have been distorted by the influence of mythological tales until they have lost their human characteristics. Both scholars agree that a Märchen about a battle between demigods and giants lies back of any real history that may exist in this portion of *LG*. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, p. 112, implies that *CMT* was composed before the year 1000.

³ From the edition and translation by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891). D'Arbois, *Cycle Mythologique, Cours*, V, 394, rejects three passages of *CMT* as later additions: (1) the account of the four cities whence the T.D.D. came, §§ 2-7; (2) the episode of Cridenbel, §§ 26-32; (3) the episode of Nuadu's regaining his cut-off hand, §§ 33-35.

⁴ That part of this passage that names the four cities from which the four talismans were brought is thought by d'Arbois to be an interpolation made after the year 1000, but I think that we should believe that all four talismans were originally mentioned here, and that because of his dislike of anything miraculous the scribe of the *LG* epitome omitted spear, sword, and cauldron. The "Four Jewels" surely go back to Irish paganism, and were not a recent borrowing from outside sources, or an invention of Christian Irish scribes. For early references to these talismans see my paper in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 236.

for the memory, and no hint is given of how they are connected with the action.¹

During an interval of twenty-seven years from the first to the second battle of Moytura, the T.D.D. were forced to pay tribute to the Fomorians, and their chieftains were reduced to manual labor: Ogma carried firewood, the Dagda dug trenches (§§ 10-14) [slavery or enchantment by giants].² At the end of that time the Fomorians prepared to attack. "Never came to Ireland a host more horrible or more fearful" (§ 51) [i.e., one-eyed giants]. Nuadu Airgetlam [cf. King Arthur] was holding "a mighty feast at Tara." A "young and fair warrior" [cf. "Finn" and "faire child," *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 214] gained admission to this feast by a recital of his powers, and was called Samildanach, "Summer with many gifts."³ He was Lug Lamfada, who has been brought up by Tallan.⁴ Lug sat down boldly in the sage's seat and tossed back a great flagstone that Ogma had hurled out as a challenge. [§§ 71-72. This is like the hero's feats of arms at the house of his uncle in *Peredur* and in *Perceval*. The perilous seat that tested the grail-seeker should be compared.] "Now Nuadu when he beheld the warrior's many powers considered whether he [Lug] could put away from them the bondage which they

¹ The four talismans are not again referred to, although the victory is made to depend upon a well of healing, and upon objects brought to Lug by Brion. The fact is, not merely that *CMT* has been a great deal rationalized and worked over, but, that it is written in a cryptic fashion which was not really cryptic to an Irish story-teller. Many Irish tales read like notes meant to be filled out from memory. Doubtless the Irish hearers understood how the talismans were used.

² Both battles are told from the point of view of the T.D.D. and are represented as victories, first over the Fir Bolg, and second over the Fomorians. Since, however, after the first battle, the T.D.D. were enslaved, it was clearly in fact a defeat.

³ The parallel which I draw between Lug and Perceval does not much depend upon how we translate Samildanach. The translation of Samildanach given above is that set forth by J. Loth, *Revue Archéologique*, XXIV, 211. Loth also calls attention to the confused character of *CMT*, and points out by analogy of other tales that Lug ought at first to call himself simply Samildanach, and keep his true name concealed. The reader will remember that in the grail romances the hero is at first called "beau fils," "fair child." (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206-8.)

⁴ In the epitome (§§ 53-55) she was called Talithu. The importance given to her, and the yearly festival in her honor, are noteworthy. She corresponds to the foster-mother (*mumme*) that brought up Cuchulinn and Finn; see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 671-72. Lug was, no doubt, called "Lamfada," or "Lamfota," "long-armed," because he slew Balor with a slingstone. When, as the story was adapted to later customs, the sling gave way to the javelin, the hero would naturally be called "long-speared" rather than "long-armed." This is the way in which we should explain "*Peredur paladyr-hir*," "P. of the long lance," in the Welsh *Peredur* (ed., Meyer [1887], § 36, l. 3.); cf. *Percevaus* "the irresistible."

suffered from the Fomorians" [cf. Conn's statement to Finn, *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206; and Arthur's remark, "Unless it were Perceval's son, the books say he must avenge," etc., *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 669], and so he gave the king's seat to Lug for thirteen days (§ 74). The three gods of Danu (*tri Deo Danonn*, CMT, § 83) brought Lug "the wherewithal for battle" (*gressa an cathae*).¹

In the battle the T.D.D. got help from a well of healing that restored their dead to life (§ 123), and from the unerring spears made by Goibniu (§§ 97, 124). Balor killed Nuadu Airgetlam, but was later slain by Lug. "An evil eye had Balor." "That eye was never opened save only on a battlefield. . . ." If an army looked at that eye, though they were many thousands in number, they could not resist (§ 133). [Cf. the magical destructive powers of the goblin in the Finn story (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206), and of the Red Knight (in *Sp*, *ibid.*, 208)]. "Then Lug cast a sling stone at (Balor) which carried the eye through his head" (§ 135). [Cf. Perceval's slaying the Red Knight, *ibid.*]

After the Fomorians had been defeated in the battle, one of their leaders, Loch, obtained quarter for himself by promising "to ward off from Ireland plundering by the Fomorians forever." [This shows that the Fomorians were plundering demons like Culdub, or like the Red Knight in *Sp*, or like the goblin. See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 201 f.] Then Lug got the Fomorian, Bres, into his power, and would not release him until he promised to grant, first, that "the kine of Erin shall always be in milk"; second, that the men of Ireland shall have "a harvest of grain in every quarter of the year"; and, third, that they should know the right day, namely, Tuesday, for plowing, for casting seed, and for reaping (§§ 149-60). [This shows that it is an enchantment that has been fastened upon the T.D.D., rather than mere bondage; cf. "The Enchantment of Britain." An euhemerizer has changed it to bondage.]²

¹ The names of these three were Brion, Iuchar, and Iucharba. Cf. a poem by Flann Manistrech in *LL*, 11a28 and 11b2; also *LL*, 30d; "*Tri De Donand .i. trí meic Bressa meic Et(athan) .i. Brian, Iuchar, ocus Iucharba*." See Thurneysen, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII, 241. This triad amounted to three different manifestations of one semidivine character; "Brion," see K. Meyer, *Eriu*, IV, 68. In later Irish story they are called "the children of Tuirenn."

² No radical difference of nature existed between the T.D.D. and the Fomorians. For the sake of clearness I have called the former "fairies," and the latter "giants," but at least one of the T.D.D. (the *Dagda*, § 89) was of giant size. A member of one of

By comparing the *LL* epitome with *CMT* we see that Lug is a wonder-child, who has been brought up in a forest by a foster-mother,¹ and who suddenly appears when a fair youth at the court of a king at a feast where he is welcomed. By his marvelous skill and weapons he slays a supernaturally powerful tyrant and delivers the land from enchantment. This is, as has been shown previously, the main thread of *Sp*.²

Both *CMT* and the *LL* epitome have been euhemerized to a greater or less extent. The Finn story and the English *Sp* do not come from written documents like *CMT* and the *LL* epitome, but from the living folk tales which they imperfectly represent. Without doubt a Märchen (in which the characters were probably unnamed) about a battle between fairies and giants existed in Ireland from very early times. A mythological tale also existed in which the wonder-child, Lug, and the other chief characters had names. *CMT* and the *LL* epitome are the work of rather erudite and sophisticated scribes who wrote down not folk tales, but such extracted outlines as they could regard as history, or at least as rational narrative. The Märchen and the mythological tale are far older than the twelfth-century Irish writers. The Märchen and the mythologic tale have lived right on in oral tradition to the present day, and have progressively influenced written documents. Late middle Irish and even modern versions may explain motives and incidents which are absent or merely hinted at in the ancient Irish sagas. Modern Irish versions (though to be used with caution) may give the neces-

these hostile clans might marry a member of the other, as was the case with the parents of Bres and of Lug. Such marriages of gods and giants are familiar in other mythologies. In view of the essential parity of the two races as representatives of the higher and the lower mythology, it is not surprising to find both on occasion exerting control over the forces of life and increase. The Fomorians were probably destructive; they destroyed the cattle and the seed. In another place we learn that the T.D.D. had power over the water: "The T.D.D. dried up the twelve chief lakes of Ireland so that the Fomorians might suffer thirst," § 79. See Rhys, *British Academy* (1910), pp. 223-24.

¹ Compare the foster-mother in the Finn stories. In *Sp*, of course, Achefflour is the real mother (*Modern Philology*, XVIII, 213).

² At the end *CMT* diverges from the Finn stories and from *Sp*. King Nuadu, unlike King Conn or King Arthur, is killed by his giant foe. Lug, unlike Finn and Perceval, does not win the love of a fairy lady. (There was a tradition that Lug was wedded after the battle of Moytura, Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 414-15; *British Academy* [1910], p. 231). Probably the author of *CMT* kept from his folk-tale source (which we suppose to be the source of the Finn story and of *Sp*) solely those features which he could represent as historical, and hence altered the story at the end.

sary links, and sometimes a modern Irishman who is conversant with fairy lore¹ can give the key to unlock the motivation of old sagas. So cautious a scholar as Thurneysen writes of Irish literature: "Dem 13. bis 14. Jahrhundert gehört dann eine neue Stilrichtung an die . . . ältere Sagen vielfach entschieden dem Märchen annähert, mit dem sie ja freilich seit jeher im Austausch gestanden haben" (*Königsage*, p. 669). Thurneysen gives as an example of this "The Death of the Sons of Uisnech," and (on pp. 73, 327) associates this with the *Oided Chloinne Tuirenn* (*OCT*) that deals with Lug and his talismans.

XXII

*The "Children of Tuirenn" throws light on the battle of
fairies and Fomorian*

Our next task is to examine this text *OCT*, which is called in English "The Fate of the Children of Tuirenn."² *OCT* tells us explicitly that Lug was a destined hero. Ceithlionn, Balor's wife, says, "He is daughter's son to you and me; and it is prophesied that when he shall come we shall never again have power in Erin."³ Recently collected folk-tale versions⁴ confirm this and supply another point, which because it explains the action, and because it occurs in similar stories, probably belonged to the underlying Märchen-formula. Balor knows that it is his fate to be slain by his daughter's son.⁵ He therefore shut her up in a tower. Cian, however, contrived to visit her, and she bore a son, Lug. Balor gave the boy to servants to drown,⁶ but the lad escaped and was brought up by a foster-mother.

¹ Compare the illuminating way in which Professor Douglas Hyde restores the original plot of "Giolla an Fhluga" in *Irish Texts Society*, I, viii.

² Printed and translated by O'Curry, *Atlantis*, IV (1863), 158 f. A free translation is in Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, pp. 37 f.

³ *Atlantis*, IV, 166.

⁴ The following modern versions are known to me: O'Donovan, *Annals of the Four Masters* (1851), I, 18, footnote (from Donegal); Larminle, *West-Irish Folk-Tales* (1893), pp. 1-9 (from Achill); Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland* (1894), pp. 1-34 (Kerry); pp. 283-395 (Donegal); pp. 296-311 (Connemara); Dr. F. N. Robinson kindly tells me of another version in Seosamh Laoide, *Cruach Chonaill* (1904), pp. 63-65 (Donegal).

⁵ See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 225, and cf. Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XXXVIII (1921), 238. The giants know and fear the destiny of the hero. That is why he is brought up secretly, and without name.

⁶ That an attempt at drowning may be a rationalization of a boy's being carried away by fairies under the water, I have shown in *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 666. O'Donovan's version says explicitly: "The child that had fallen into the harbor, though he apparently sunk to the bottom, was invisibly carried off by the banshee." Her name was "Biroge of the Mountain," and she gave the boy to his father's brother, Gavidia the Smith, to bring up [she is a kind of foster-mother].

Like many monsters Balor could be killed only in a particular way. "No man can kill me," said Balor, "but the son of my daughter. She has no son, and if she had, he could kill me only with the red spear made by Gaivnin Gow, and it cast into my eye the moment I raise the last shield from it, when I am standing on Muin Duv (Black Back) to burn Erin."¹ Balor's eye burned whatever it looked at. A druid says, "Balor will come to burn up Erin. He will stand on Muin Duv at daybreak. He will raise all the shields from his eye; and unless a spear made by Gaivnin Gow is hurled into his eye by his grandson that instant, he will have all Erin in flames."²

OCT makes very plain that Lug is the kind of hero who depends upon magic gifts or talismans. At his first coming we are told that Lug rode on Manannán's steed Aonbharr, which traveled by sea as well as by land; he wore Manannán's lorica which protected the wearer from wounds, and his breast piece through which no weapon could pierce; he carried Manannán's sword Freagarthach (The Retaliator) which took away the strength of those opposed to it in battle.³ We read also that he had Manannán's boat Scuabtuinné (The Wave-Sweeper) which accommodated any number, and moved at a word of command (*op. cit.*, p. 192). He had been brought up by the elf king, Manannán, for Manannán's sons are his foster-brothers (p. 163). That he was a fair youth (like Finn and Perceval) is insisted on, "as bright as the sun on a dry summer's day . . . was his face" (p. 163); "his countenance had the radiance of the sun" (p. 177).

OCT exists in no MS older than the eighteenth century.⁴ However, a tolerably complete outline of it may be found in a poem called "Turill Bicrenn and his Sons" which arose according to Thurneysen as early as 1100.⁵ This poem of 1100 reads like a set of notes intended

¹ Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 304. On the general idea cf. Lessman, "Die umständliche Tötung," *Mitra*, I (1914), 161. It is pretty clear that Balor could be killed only by the Spear of Lug made by Goibniu, which is later called the Luin. This Spear is the origin, as I have sought to show in my paper "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA* (1910), XVIII, of the Bleeding Lance of the grail castle.

² Curtin, p. 311, cf. pp. 293, 313. From the fiery power of Balor's eye could easily have developed the tale of the goblin (see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 206) who burnt Tara with fire, and who was slain by Finn.

³ *Atlantis*, IV, 162-63.

⁴ Thurneysen somewhat hesitatingly assigns the composition of *OCT* to the fourteenth century, *Königsage*, p. 73.

⁵ Thurneysen, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 243.

to recall the full tale which we know only in the later *OCT*. The ancient poem is much briefer and in some points *OCT* diverges from it.

In the significant matter of the talismans these divergences can be shown by summarizing in parallel columns the lists of objects sought:

POEM OF 1100

1. Two immortal horses.
2. The unerring spear of Assals, that returns to its owner.
3. A pig's skin that cures wounds.
4. Six never failing pigs.
5. A dog of the Smith of Hiruaid that turns water into wine.
6. The dog of Luchrai Lia.
7. The apples of the apple tree of Findchoire.

OCT

1. Three apples from the Garden of Hisbeirne (Hesperides).
2. The pig's skin of Tuis that heals wounds.
3. The blazing spear of Pisear.
4. The steeds and chariot of Dobar.
5. Seven never failing pigs.
6. The dog (called "Failinis") of the King of Ioruaidhe.
7. The cooking spit of the women of the island Fianchaire.

In the foregoing lists the cauldron of the Dagda is not mentioned, but more than half of the objects sought are talismans of plenty or healing, and their properties correspond more or less to those of a fairy goblet of plenty. It is evident that a quest for talismans of plenty (like the Dagda's cauldron, and like the grail) is an integral part of the story. The island of Findchoire is mentioned last, as if it were the most dangerous of the quests. According to the poem of 1100, the talismans here were apples: "Seek the apple tree of most beautiful luster which is at Findchoire (the white whirlpool); it is concealed out there."

A prose account, which is prefixed to the poem and is dated by Thurneysen not much later than the poem, certainly in the twelfth century, gives more detail: "The discovery of the Island of Caire Ceinnfinn (white-headed whirlpool) which lies concealed between Ireland and Scotland, and the fruit of the apple tree that is beneath the sea on this island."¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

OCT agrees with these older accounts in the name of the island¹ and its location beneath the sea. However, it changes the talisman sought from apples to a cooking spit.²

Brian put on his water dress . . . and he made a water leap; and it is said that he was for a fortnight walking in the salt water seeking the island of Fianchaire. . . . He found in it but a troop of women engaged at embroidery; and they had by them the cooking spit (that he sought).³

This island of Fianchaire is perhaps identical with the Welsh Afallach (Isle of Apples?) and is a rude form of the Castle of Maidens which is so often mentioned in grail romances. It is not difficult to recover from these fragmentary episodes of *OCT* the main outlines of a lost tale in which Brion was chief quester⁴ after talismans (which included talismans of plenty) to be used in the battle of Moytura.

The story of Lug and Balor (in *CMT*) agrees in seven main points with our reconstructed plot of *Sp*. In both the fairies have been defeated by the giants, their king (Nuadu, Arthur) wounded or enfeebled, and their land bewitched. In both a youthful hero (Lug, Perceval) has been brought up in seclusion by a mother or a foster-mother. In both he is a destined hero, and his name is kept secret for fear [this is somewhat obscured in both versions] of his being slain in childhood. In both he is called at first by some epithet implying light ("Summer-of-many-gifts," "Faire Childe"). In both he comes unexpectedly to the court of the king and gains attention by his boldness. In both the king asks his help (see *Sp*, vss. 646f.). In both he slays a terrible foe (Balor, the Red Knight) by

¹ *Atlantis*, IV, 219. *Findchoire*, or *Fian-Chaire* equals *Caire finn*. In this whirlpool or cauldron beneath the sea we may see, I think, a rude form of the revolving other-world castle, the turning castle of the grail.

² The "Apples of the Hesperides" in *OCT* are a later insertion. Whoever put them in probably changed the apples of Fianchaire to a cooking-spit to avoid duplication. Never falling apples are a good ancient characteristic of the Irish fairy land. See "The Adventures of Connla," (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 29.

³ This whirlpool or cauldron (*caire*) is like the Coire Breccan which was also situated between Ireland and Scotland, more exactly between Ballycastle and the island of Rathlin. See the Dindshenchas, *Revue Celtique*, XVI, 157-58; Cormac's Glossary (*Anecdota*, IV), § 323; Reeves, *Life of St. Columba* (1857), pp. 262-64. The *Vita Columbae* calls it "Charybdis Breccan," Bk. I, chap. v; cf. Reeves' note on the passage.

A city of maidens beneath the sea on the way to Lochlann is told of in the Dindshenchas, *Revue Celtique*, XV, 295; Metrical Dindshenchas, ed., Gwynn, R.I.A., *Todd Lecture Series*, X (1913), Pt. III, p. 191. For a Christianization of this as a nunnery of Brigit beneath the sea see *Lib. Hym.*, II, 191; *Fel. Oen.*, p. 64 (*Bradshaw Soc.*), cf. *ZCP*, III, 243; Plummer, *Vitae*, I, cxxvii, cxlix.

⁴ Cf. Yeats, *Ideas of Good and Evil* (1908), p. 227, "The tale of the sons of Tuireann [*OCT*], with its unintelligible mysteries [is] an old grail quest as I think."

a single cast of a missile (sling-stone, javelin) that hits the enemy in the eye. Obviously, proof that *Sp* conforms to the formula of battle between fairies and giants, which is also the formula of the Lug-Balor story, is overwhelming.

Having satisfied ourselves that *Sp* and the Lug-Balor story pursue the same formula, other possible points of contact between these stories are worth noting. *Sp* tells of Maidenland, and *OCT* (not *CMT*) mentions a strange land inhabited by women only. This parallel may lack significance, however, because Brion's visit to the Land of Women is for a different purpose from Perceval's. Brion goes in search for a talisman; Perceval to rescue the land from attack.

Another parallel lies in a possible suggestion in *Sp* that the Red Knight was one-eyed:

At þe knighte lete he flee 690
Smote hym in at þe ee
And oute at þe nakke.

To be sure there is nothing unusual about the expression "in at the eye."¹ One could hardly expect the author to write "in at one of his eyes." Yet the words are precisely those that would appear if the passage were a survival of a popular tale in which the Red Knight (like the Fomorians) had but one eye. Among Perceval's foes in *Sp* are Gollerotherame and his giant brother. "Goll" in Irish meant "blind" or "one-eyed," and in *CMT*² is the name of a Fomorian.

Finally, it may be observed that both in *OCT* and *Sp* the whole company of people are enchanters and magicians.

On the whole then, except for possible divergence at the end, the evidence shows that *Sp* (and of course the allied Finn stories) conforms to the Märchen formula of a war between gods and giants, in which victory depended upon talismans. We have traced this formula in several Irish documents (*CMT*, *OCT*) in which the characters were evidently in origin all supernatural beings combating with marvelous weapons.

¹ A similar expression occurs in Chrétien's *C*, ed., Baist, vss. 1092, 4092; also *Parsival*, 155. 9; and *Peredur*, ed., Meyer, § 11, l. 14; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 57.

² *CMT*, 128, see *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 220, n. 1.

XXIII

*Sir Perceval follows the formula of the "Battle of Moytura,"
which proves that the gold cup in it was a
talisman of plenty*

What conclusion shall we draw from the observed fact that *Sp* and the Irish story (imperfectly preserved in *CMT* and *OCT*) conform except possibly at the end to the same formula? Since all of the objects in *CMT* and *OCT* are talismans, we may conclude not only that *Sp* is at bottom a tale of strife between fairies and giants, and all the characters magicians and enchanters, but that all of the objects mentioned in *Sp* must originally, like those in *CMT*, have been talismans.

On an earlier page¹ it has been shown that this is plainly the case with (1) the "Scottes spear" (spear of Lug); (2) the ring of the Damsel of the Hall, and (3) the armor of the Red Knight. It is now, I hope, evident that a fourth talisman was King Arthur's golden cup that was stolen by the Red Knight. This cup must have been originally a talisman of plenty and prosperity, like the Dagda's cauldron, like most of the objects sought in *OCT*, and like the grail.

That nobody has pointed out the talismanic powers of this gold cup in *Sp* is not surprising because they have been almost obliterated. In *Sp* this cup is not described as a talisman at all. It is simply a "coupe of golde bryghte" (648), although considerable prominence is given to it in the story because Perceval's challenge to the Red Knight is for no other purpose than to recover this cup and return it to King Arthur:

Bot if þou brynge þe coupe agayne, 670
With my dart þou sall be slayne.

In *Sp* as it stands, this cup is not even particularized:

Fyf(ten)e² jeres hase he þus gane 633
And my coupes fro me tane
And my gude knyghte slayne,
Men calde sir Percyvell;
Sythen taken hase he three,
And ay awaye will he bee,
Or I may harnayse me,
In felde hym to felle. 640

¹ *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 669.

² Holthausen's emendation for MS "fyve." See his note, p. 96.

From these somewhat ambiguous lines it appears that the Red Knight has stolen three such cups during fifteen years: "Sythen taken hase he three" (cups) 637. The author of *Sp* regarded the royal cup as valuable, because made of gold, and significant because of its personal use by the king, but he attached to the object no talismanic powers. Nevertheless, evidence that originally this cup possessed talismanic power is not hard to find.

King Arthur was bitterly distressed when the Red Knight carried off the golden cup:

The sorowe, þat þe kynge hade,
Mighte no tonge tell.

627

The king promised to make Perceval a knight, so soon as he should bring back the cup:

A knyghte sall I make the,
For-thi þou wille brynge mee
The coupe of golde bryghte. 646

After Perceval slew the Red Knight, he gave the gold cup to Sir Gawayne, with an injunction to carry it back to King Arthur (817). The romance does not relate Gawayne's return. Gawayne has not reached the court in verses 1062-68, for King Arthur is here lying in "care-bed":

His wo es wansome to wreke, 1065
His hert es bownn for to breke,
For he wend never to speke
With Percyvell no mare.

If Gawayne had returned before this, bringing back the cup, and the news of Perceval's slaying the Red Knight, King Arthur would not have been in such despair about the youth. But Gawayne must have arrived before verse 1105, because here we are told that King Arthur set out for Mayden-lande in company with Ewayne, Gawayne, and Kay (the names of the three knights who went with Arthur are given in verses 1390-93). The effect of the return of the cup upon King Arthur was marvelous. Before it came he could not stand on his feet. He read the letters from Mayden-lande while lying abed. He declared that he was "too sick" to ride far to fight in the field (1080). He told the messenger:

In my londe wot I no lordyng,
Es worthy to be a knyghte.

1087

Some verses which related Gawayne's return with the gold cup must have dropped out before verse 1105.

Immediately King Arthur commanded

Horse and armes for to brynge. 1106

The king and three knights, including Gawayne, took horses and arms and set forth eagerly:

þay were a-ferde full sare, 1114
Ere þay come whare he ware,
þe childe wolde be slayne.

Not a word do we ever hear again of King Arthur feeling "sick and sore," or of the unworthiness of his knights.

What has happened in sixteen lines to transform an invalid king, surrounded by unworthy knights, into brave and ready warriors? Evidently Gawayne's return with the golden cup and the news of the Red Knight's death has brought about a change. This event, though definitely implied, is nowhere mentioned in our text. The author of *Sp* must have had before him a story defective at this point; probably because his more remote original, like many extant Welsh and Irish fairy tales, passed over an important step in the plot with a mere hint, comprehensible to Celtic hearers who were versed in fairy lore, but not grasped by French or English narrators.

The author of *Sp* tries to imply that Arthur's illness was caused by his sorrow at the departure of Perceval, whom he never expected to speak to again (see 1066-68). This explanation comes in but lamely; moreover, it does not in the least account for the weakness of all Arthur's knights. Neither King Arthur nor any of his knights have been able to resist the Red Knight for fifteen years (554). The author of *Sp* represents Arthur's long ill-success as due to his inability to overtake the Red Knight (638-40). In an earlier form of the story, no doubt, the Red Knight's armor protected him, by making him either invulnerable or invisible, and for fifteen years Arthur's kingdom has been under an enchantment, doubtless the "Enchantment of Britain," of which one reads elsewhere. The weakness of Arthur is a part of the general enchantment. Before the story was rationalized Arthur and his knights were under a spell. They were in a death-in-life condition, and their land laid waste, because of their

loss of the golden cup, which by its talismanic powers of plenty kept the king and his knights in prosperity and their land in fruitfulness. The moment that Gawayne brought the cup, and with it the news of the death of the Red Knight, Arthur was restored to health and vigor.

Perceval was not dubbed a knight till he had shown his mettle by slaying most of Lufamour's adversaries, and by breaking lances with Sir Gawayne. Even then King Arthur would not knight him till he had "won his shoes upon the Sowdan" (1595-96). He was actually knighted, however, and his name formally given just before he rode against Gollerotherame:

Sir Percevell the Galayse
 þay called hym in kythe.

1643

Arthur, Gawayne, Ewayne, and Kay, with Lufamour and others, watched the combat and encouraged Perceval to slay the Sowdan.

This shows that the reason given for Arthur's being "sick and sore" and for his journey in search of Perceval, namely, that he was "afraid that Perceval would be killed,"¹ cannot be original. Arthur afforded no help when he arrived, but deliberately sent the youthful Perceval into single combat with Gollerotherame. The statement that Arthur's worry about young Perceval caused his illness is obviously a blunder occasioned by forgetting the marvelous power of the gold cup, which determined the action of the plot.

The gold cup must have been at first the most important of the four talismans. The whole action centered round it. When it was gone, Arthur and his land were enchanted; when Perceval recovered it, he achieved his greatest quest. The gold cup in *Sp* is an undeveloped grail.

We have observed that *Sp* follows the formula of the battle of gods and giants in Irish mythology, and we have come to think that it rests in some way on the story of Lug and Balor, and that Perceval has taken the place earlier occupied by Lug, the child of light and the bringer of victory. This view is in line with what on general principles we should expect. The battle of gods and giants must have been the most striking story in Celtic mythology. *Sp*

¹ Some confusion in motivation here may be deep seated in the folk tale. In *CMT*, § 95, we read that the T.D.D. tried to prevent Lug from entering the battle of Moytura lest he should be slain, *Revue Celtique*, XII, 88.

carries with it, as we shall come to see, the origins of the grail, which is certainly the most noteworthy element in the Arthurian complex. To find that the battle of gods and giants supplied the root idea of the grail and the enchantments of Britain is no paradox.

Our view enables us to carry out the brilliant suggestion of the late Alfred Nutt. He declared that the talismans of the grail castle were derived from the "four jewels" of the T.D.D.¹ We now see that the grail story not only borrowed the talismans, but the grail plot carried over the battle of the T.D.D. and the Fomorians. Perceval succeeded to the place of Lug and appropriated not only his talismans, but a considerable part of his marvelous adventures.

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¹ *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* (1888), p. 184. The talismans of the grail castle, as our argument shows, are connected with the T.D.D. (fairies) who were the lords of plenty and increase in Irish mythology. This is also Miss Weston's view, *From Ritual to Romance*, p. 19, but she thinks that in the scene at the grail castle we have the ritual of a cult.

[To be continued]

THE MARRIAGES OF EDMUND SPENSER

The records cited below, while they plainly relate to "Edmund Spenser," in all probability do not refer to the poet, but concern a couple of the half-dozen other Edmund Spensers of the period whose existence is known. We need not fear, therefore, that Spenser was a Bluebeard or a much-married man. He may have married more than once, but the evidence to that effect is still to be sought. What is here adduced merely helps to clear the ground.

Spenser was a poet, sage and serious in Milton's judgment, but nevertheless no ascetic, as any reader of his poetry may judge, and with all the susceptibility to woman's charm which usually besets the poet's temperament.¹ The Rosalind affair may have been purely platonical and regulated by the attenuated conventions of a Renaissance court of love. That is a matter of interpretation. Harvey, as the official mentor and monitor of a promising youth, seems to have been somewhat disturbed over the Rosalindula affair. And there may have been other affairs. Apparently, however, according to the orthodox interpretation of the face of the record, Spenser remained a bachelor until his marriage in 1594 to Elizabeth Boyle. This is considered surprising enough to be made a matter for biographical comment. Collier² remarks, "It is unlikely that a man of such a delicate and susceptible mind would remain single until he was more than forty." Grosart³ notes that "Spenser was extremely susceptible to woman," but does not commit himself to the theory of a former marriage. There are, however, at least two records which need to be explained away before such a theory becomes untenable. The first of these, in point of date, has not been cited in connection with this theory, so far as I can discover. It is contained in the *Middlesex Parish Registers* (ed., W. P. W. Phillimore and Thos. Gurney, London, 1910, at p. 145, under "Marriages at West Drayton, 1568 to 1813"), and reads as follows:

Edm. Spenser and Jone Bre[ttri]dge 21 July, 1586.

¹ Even the temperament of a poet so indubitably sage and serious as Wordsworth, as we have recently learned.

² Edition of Spenser, I (1862), xv.

³ Edition of Spenser, I, 129.

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But it is improbable that Spenser the poet was in England in 1586. It is certain that he could not have been in London on July 21, 1586, for his sonnet to Harvey is dated from Dublin July 18, 1586. There were other Edmund Spensers in England at the time. The bridegroom of Jone Brettridge could not have been the poet.¹ This evidence, therefore, must be ruled out of the record.

The second entry is that cited by Mr. William Jackson in *Notes and Queries* (Series IV, Vol. X [1872], p. 244) from the register of Saint Bees, Cumberland,² as follows:

1590, 1 December. *Edmundus Spencer et Maria Towerson nupti fuerunt.*

There is no record otherwise of the connection of the poet Spenser with Saint Bees or with Cumberland, but Mr. Jackson notes that Grindal was born there and that Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger, who has been conjectured to be the "Palin" of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, was then lord of the manor of Saint Bees. Spenser was in England in 1590, so that the former objection does not hold. This evidence can be ruled out of the record by the arbitrary assumption that this "Edmundus Spencer" must be one of the other Edmund Spensers of the period and cannot be the poet. That it was the poet, however, is rendered slightly less probable by another entry from the same register:

1590. 30 Marcii. *Anna uxor Edmundi Spencer de Whithaven sepulta fuit.*

This Spenser, or Spencer, was, it appears, of Whitehaven, and a former wife Anna was buried at Saint Bees eight months before his marriage to Maria Towerson. But Maria Spencer lived only some sixteen months after her marriage, for a third entry records that,

1592. 14 Aprilis. *Maria uxor Edmundi Spenser de Whithaven sepulta fuit.*

It is improbable that we are here dealing with a record in the life of the poet Spenser, and that from this union Maria Towerson or from the earlier union with the unnamed Anna may have issued the poet's son Sylvanus.³ Improbable but not impossible. It is a case for the suspension of judgment until further evidence may appear.

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¹ Nor the daughter of the union (probably), the "Florence" cited by Collier, I, xvi, born August 26, 1587, the daughter of the poet.

² Repeated in William Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees Mainly Relating to Cumberland and Westmoreland*, I (London, 1892), 68.

³ Probably not more than five or six years old, at the time of the poet's death—the age which he could not have exceeded if he were the issue of the union with Elizabetha Boyle in 1594.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings to the Year 1300. By JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE. Two volumes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1923. Pp. x+495 and v+444.

Bruce died just before this compendious work, the fruit of years of arduous toil, was published. One would like to think of it as the coping-stone of his career—a career marked by unfailing devotion to Arthurian romance and by a lucid and engaging insight into some of its major problems. Strongly opposed to what he believed to be “hazardous opinions,” he himself clung to the firm ground of written document. The debt of Arthurian stories to Celtic tradition always appeared to him greatly exaggerated. And, in accord with the latter-day “realistic” school of scholarship, of which Foerster and Bédier are in large measure the progenitors, he did not think that the romances were “in any essential degree, the reflection of a great body of oral tradition (see Preface, p. iv).” Upon this ground—one is tempted to call it “theory”—he took his stand, and the present study is the final expression of his ideas.

It is also the first scholarly review of the evolution of Arthurian romance, as such, starting with “the earliest recorded traditions concerning Arthur” and reaching to the florescence of the romances in the immense Grail-Lancelot Cycle of the thirteenth century. As the excellent editor of *La Mort Artu* (1910), perhaps the best branch of the Cycle, Bruce’s interest was of course centered on this later stage. He is not, and does not claim to be, a first-hand student of the earliest origins. If then he betrays a bias in favor of one angle of the field, this is due in part to the size of his project, in part to the hypothetical plane upon which the discussion of origins necessarily moves, and in part to the fact that an adequate history of Arthurian romance would demand a breadth and depth of knowledge which no single person at present can be said to possess. It does not detract from Bruce’s reputation to say that his work is above all “useful.” It does not solve problems, nor does it always state them adequately; but when all deductions are made, it remains a first-class survey, accompanied by full bibliographical references, written in admirable English, and evincing a courtesy and consideration toward other scholars which, in this field particularly, is worthy of comment.

In Chrétien’s *Erec* (vss. 1690–91) we read:

Devant toz les buens chevaliers
Doit estre Gauvains li premiers.

Like this “earlier” Sir Gawain, Bruce mingled *sans* with *cortesie* to an eminent degree.

The treatise is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with: I, "Traditions, Chronicles, Lays and Romances" (219 pages, of which only 28 are devoted to Chrétien and his successors); II, "The Holy Grail" (146 pages); III, "The Prose Romances" (157 pages), and IV, "Discussions" (the bulk of the second volume). Thus, the most interesting part of the work is the first volume. For, although the *Didot-Perceval* and the *Perlesvaus* are relegated to the second volume, Bruce differs from Miss Weston and Lot in holding that the former is not by the hand of Robert de Boron, and, unlike Gaston Paris, Brugger, and myself, he regards the latter romance as a late and unimportant re-working of the Perceval theme. A comment on the correctness of this opinion will be found toward the end of the present review.

Coming now to the more controversial aspects of the book, we are not surprised that Bruce accepts the "historicity" of Arthur (*Artorius*, the name of a Roman *gens*), though he is at some pains to admit that the hero of Badon Hill, first mentioned by Nennius, bears the same name as a young Irish prince who perished in 596, and as three other Welsh or Irish persons of an early date.

Nennius' account (ninth century), he says, "testifies to the continued growth of wonderful legends about the British chieftain." It is natural then, he adds, "to find that in the year 1113 stories concerning Arthur were firmly established in Brittany and Cornwall." But if they were, why dismiss as a pious fraud the *librum vetustissimum* mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as his source? The chances are about even that in 1137 a collection of Arthur stories in the Vernacular existed. And, if so, it may have been in a written form.

The question has considerable interest because it involves a principle of research. Some fifty years later, Chrétien de Troyes names as his source a *livre* given him, as he affirms, by Philip of Flanders (Geoffrey's had purported to come from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford). Obviously, the case is similar. Yet this *livre* is accepted as authentic. I fully agree with Bruce that the citation of "fictitious" sources became a medieval convention (Bruce could have quoted the Prologue to *Don Quixote*), but when did it arise and to what extent was it used? The reader of this survey might well have expected a consideration of this problem; or, if that was not feasible, a more judicious analysis of each particular case. For Bruce also rejects Kiot (Guyot) as a source of Wolfram (p. 322), Bledhericus as a narrator of the *Tristan* (p. 156), Walter Map as the author of a *Lancelot* (p. 371), and the Latin book on the Grail referred to by Helinand and the *Perlesvaus* (p. 255). One may err fully as much by assuming that *quod non est in actis, non est in mundo*, as by assuming the reverse. Bledhericus—"famosus ille fabulator"—sounds authentic to the modern folklorist; to the "literalist" he means nothing. Why? The only answer that I can give is, because his "sayings" have not been handed down.

In my opinion, a similar fallacy underlies Bruce's otherwise excellent treatment of the Breton *lais*. On page 66 he writes:

There is no convincing evidence that before Marie de France narrative lays existed at all in French literature. She doubtless was the creator of the *genre* and her genius seems to have dominated it during the brief vogue which it enjoyed.

The reader will at once recognize the theory of Foulet; to whom Bruce gives justifiable credit. Meyer-Lübke, however, had recently pointed out (*ZFSL*, XLIII, 162) that such compositions as the *Lai del Cor*(re), earlier than Marie, are not so easily disposed of as Foulet and others might think. To call this lai a *fabliau* is hardly in accord with the facts; there are linguistic reasons for concluding that its source was Breton or Cornish, while the list of Arthurian names it contains are significant (see, also, Cross, *Modern Philology*, X, 289-99, for Welsh and Irish parallels). Thus, though Marie be the most distinguished representative of the *genre*, the argument is not wholly in favor of her being its creator. On the contrary, such evidence as we possess points the other way.¹

Finally, when with Chrétien he reaches the "romance," Bruce fails to give any consistent account of the origin of the *genre*—an account which it seems should have preceded his analysis of the romances themselves (see my article in *Romania*, XLIV, 14 ff.²)—and, further, he takes Brown's *Dissertation* on the *Ivain* as "a typical case" of how the debt to Irish (Celtic) sources has been exaggerated. Since my own review of Brown's *Dissertation* is cited in support of Bruce's view, it behooves me to say that the analysis of Brown appears to me somewhat misleading. Bruce was unacquainted with Zenker's important summary of the *Ivain* question (*Beiheft*, LXX, 1-176, see now, *Modern Philology*, XX, 102 ff.), and his statement that

Most readers will agree with us that it would be impossible for the French poet to extract from such a story (Cuchulinn's Sick Bed) the plot of *Yvain*. . . . Except that in each the lover runs mad, on losing his mistress, the two stories have virtually nothing in common. . . .

is hardly a just version of the case. For if "most readers" do agree on this point with Bruce, it may be only because they have not consulted Brown, who proves that the Irish and the French stories have more in common than the fact that "in each the lover runs mad," and whose main argument is that the two stories are connected as to *type* rather than as to derivation. "The *Ivain*," says Brown (p. 95), "must in origin be a Celtic story of a journey to the other world, of the *type* [the italics are mine] conveniently represented by the *Serlige Conculaind*." Personally, I hold a view somewhat different from Brown, but I cannot see that Bruce's argument refutes him on this particular point.

¹ See, also, Ezio Levi, *I lais bretonni e la leggenda di Tristano*, Perugia, 1918, pp. 99 ff.

² Under the heading "Lancelot," Bruce does refer to the article, but the title *Sans et matière*, as he gives it, should of course read *Sans et matière*. So, too, *sans* and not *san* in the same footnote (p. 195.)

On the other hand, I am inclined to share Bruce's view that the narrative of the *Ivain* is "obviously a composite one" (p. 120), and I gladly admit, after reading the forceful pages on Chrétien's narrative art (pp. 120-23), that the *Cligès* is the "proper starting-point" for any study of Chrétien's method of composition. Yet, due allowance must also be made for a "source" that is "written" (*Cligès*) as opposed to one that is oral and folkloristic (*Ivain*). The reference that Bruce makes to Faral, in this connection, appears to me to have no value.

The pivots upon which the developed Arthur-story revolves are the Lancelot theme and the Holy Grail. Bruce, I believe, is at his best in tracing the love motif of Lancelot, from its remote origins to its climactic close in the *Mort Artu*. His literary taste is almost unerring. With great acuteness, for example, he shows how Mordred, whom Lancelot had replaced as the lover of Guinevere, must reappear at the end of the Cycle as the child of Arthur's incest. "Thus," he says (p. 441), "as in the legend of Oedipus, the sin of the father, though unconsciously perpetrated, brings with it the blind and terrible retribution of the Fates." Incidentally, we learn that the disparity between the various parts of the completed Cycle makes it impossible that one remanieur, let alone one "author," is responsible for the final form that the story took (by 1216). This disposes of the theory of Lot (*Etude sur le Lancelot en Prose*), although Bruce carefully differentiates that error from the many excellencies of Lot's work.

But again we observe in this portion of the book that although the abduction of *Guinevere* (forming the nucleus of the *Charrete*) is traced to undoubted Celtic origin, the story of the Grail, the *Enserrement Merlin*, and the Passing of Arthur are set down as independent of Celtic tradition.

Regarding the *Enserrement* (the story of Merlin and Viviane), one may allow that, since the fairy-mistress motif has been "overworked," an oriental source is among the possibilities. Certainly, "the wise man deceived by a woman" has an analogue in current medieval tales about Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Vergil. But an analogue is not yet a source, and Miss Paton's analysis of the *Niniane and Merlin* (see her *Fairy Mythology*, chap. xiii) leads me to think that the story may well have had several sources rather than one. In short, we know that the *matière de Rome* and the *matière de Bretagne* were constantly borrowing characters, incidents, and even atmosphere from one another (there are Celtic fairies in the *Thèbes*, and Kittredge's masterly study of the Lay of Sir Orfeo has demonstrated how a classical story was adapted to a Celtic type); so that, again, as in the case of the *Ivain*, the narrative material is "obviously a composite one."

The Passing of Arthur would be another case in point. Bruce did not live to see Cross's important paper in the *Manly Studies* (Chicago, 1923, p. 284). Here we have a clear demonstration that "the passing of Arthur . . . originated in a Celtic tradition similar to that attached to certain Irish heroes and best preserved in the *Táin bó Fráich*." What makes the parallel so striking, in my opinion, is that Fraech is the lover of Finnabair, which is the same name as the Arthurian *Guinevere*. The Irish tradition is

the chronological start; the Passing of Arthur in the *Mort Artu* is the completion of the narrative form. As is to be expected, the Passing of Arthur contains many extraneous elements, which are the additions and adaptations of many other story-tellers. It could hardly have been otherwise, and nothing is gained, it seems to me, by assuming that the *procédé* was different.

Hence, in both of the cases mentioned, I believe a Celtic source was used.

Let us now conclude with a consideration of the Grail. As of old, to go on the Grail quest is to risk one's reputation. Bruce, and rightly, is wary of the "siege perilous." He gives us a thoroughgoing account of the outstanding hypotheses: chap. i, "The Theory of Christian Origin"; chap. ii, "The Theory of Celtic Origin"; and chap. iii, "The Ritual Theory." For the first time the student of Arthurian romance is presented with a synoptic record of the leading points of view. Again, one admires Bruce's remarkable fairness, for he himself has always held the first hypothesis; to him the Grail is of Christian origin.

In some respects, he is indisputably right: Chrétien's phrase

Que l'oïste qui el graal vient [*Perceval*, vs. 7793]

agrees with the term employed in the Roman mass: *hanc immaculatam hostiam*; Robert de Boron "identifies the Grail . . . with the dish of the Last Supper and . . . with the chalice of the sacrament." One might even agree that Byzantine usage underlay "the conception of a girl bearing the eucharist," and there is nothing foreign to medieval practice in the "adaptation of sacred materials to the purposes of romance." The fundamental question, however, is whether these aspects of the story belonged to it at the start? Are they not secondary? Can they not be explained more logically as accretions, due to a progressive process of Christianization—such as is represented in the later shift from *Perceval* to *Galahad* as the Grail hero?

Granting even, as Bruce states (p. 248), that it was Chrétien himself who added to the Grail *motif* those other *motifs* of "removing a spell by putting a question" and "what is known in the study of folk-tales as the Great Fool *motif*," there still remain in Chrétien (and even in Robert) certain essential features which no theory of Christian origin has yet been able to explain. One of these is the obvious pagan setting in which the Grail ceremony takes place, and another, that the "agrarian" aspects of the ritual, though doubtless more marked in Chrétien's continuators than in himself, are in the light of the studies by Frazer, Mannhardt, von Baudissin, and others, antecedent to Christianity. Are we to assume that they were "added" to an original Christian setting by the medieval story-tellers?

As to the first of these aspects, Bruce (p. 274) is compelled to grant that "the hall of the Grail as described by Chrétien" is like "the one in the palace of Tara, as described in the Irish sagas." (See the *Elliott Studies*, Baltimore, I (1911), 19 ff.). But, he says,

We are dealing with a romance—with a narrative of a fantastic kind. . . . Moving in the atmosphere of a folk tale, the poet may have purposely made his description archaic.

If I interpret the purport of this statement correctly, the reader is to think that it is more likely that Chrétien "made his description archaic" than that he got this piece of description from an "archaic (in this case, Celtic) source." I firmly believe that the latter hypothesis is the more probable.

To be sure, the detail in question cannot "turn the scales definitely in favor of the Celtic theory"; but when taken together with Brown's (and Nutt's) studies on the *Four Jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danaan*,¹ viz., "The Stone of Destiny," "The Cauldron of the Dagda," "The Spear of Lug," and "The Sword of Lug," and in view of the fact that the boyhood exploits of Perceval and the episode of the drops of blood on the snow have analogues in Celtic stories, the "detail" about the Grail castle gains considerably in importance. And this brings us to that other feature: the agrarian side of the ritual.

Bruce does me the honor to consider my own views in a separate chapter, "The Ritual Theory." His main objection to this theory, which he thinks "does not get beyond the realm of ingenious hypothesis," is that "The rites of the Christian church itself . . . developed under the influence of the old pagan mysteries," and that "where we have such features common to Christian legend and the ancient cults, it is much more likely that the Grail romances derived them from the former than from any supposed underground perpetuation of the latter (p. 289)." This would be true if the vegetation rites in question were preserved in the Christian form. But, as Miss Weston and I (*From Ritual to Romance*, Cambridge, 1920, and *PMLA*, XXIV, 365 ff.) have endeavored to show, many of the features of the vegetation rite—and among them the most striking—are peculiar to the Grail story and the pagan cults, but absent from the Christian form. Hence if they are *more* than analogues, there must be some connection. I note that in the last number of the *Romania* (XLIX, 437, footnote) even so cautious a person as Ferdinand Lot remarks:

Il est visible que l'auteur de la *Quête* ne comprend rien au Roi Pêcheur, à la lance, au Graal. Il est à cent lieues de se douter de quoi il retourne. Nous savons, nous, grâce aux travaux de Miss J. L. Weston, qu'il y a à la base de la légende une initiation manquée, puis réussie, à un mystère païen.

The problem, then, awaiting an answer is what "particular" pagan ritual will explain the Grail?

Miss Weston, in her various studies, has sought the particular pagan ritual in the cult of Adonis, which (see Bruce, p. 282) "she supposes to have persisted down to the twelfth century through the agency of occult sects." In Chrétien's continuator Wauchier, a translator of Latin saints' lives, we do find a version of the Grail ceremony similar to the well-known rites of Adonis. But, again, an analogue is not *yet* a source. Neither Miss Weston

¹ Bruce is mistaken in saying (p. 274) that Brown's "sole authority on which this grouping of the talismans rests is the seventeenth-century Irish historian, Keating." Brown actually states (p. 236 of his *Notes on Celtic Cauldrons of Plenty*, in the "Kittredge Papers") that the talismans "are best described in the *Cath Maige Turedh*." The MS of this text is late, but the grammatical forms in the text make it earlier than the fifteenth century, while "the antiquity of the tradition concerning the four jewels seems indisputable."

nor I have in reality established that such or such Mediterranean cult was a source of the Grail. What we have done is to show that the Grail has a meaning if explained as a vegetation rite. And what possible meaning can it have if its origin be merely a much-confused rehearsal of the Christian mass? A progressive Christianization appears logical, in harmony with the spirit of the twelfth century; any other process seems to us illogical, in fact, absurd.

On the other hand, Brown—leaving aside all arguments in behalf of a ritual—would trace the Grail story back to the Irish (Celtic) conception of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* (see his articles now appearing in *Modern Philology*). An undeniable connection with the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* is the Arthurian name of *Nut* (Welsh *Nudd*), Irish *Nuatha*. The latter is a brother of the Dagda (obviously an epithet, like *roi pescheor*), who possesses the cauldron of plenty, and has himself been identified (see Vendryes, *RC*, XXXIX, 384) with our Fisher King. In any case, magic vessels, most of which are cauldrons of plenty, abound in Irish and Welsh lore,¹ and are always associated with an other-world abode. Thus, Brown's reference to the *Four Jewels*—corresponding to the Grail, the lance, the siege perilous, and the Grail sword—seems to me convincing, in spite of Bruce's contrary view, mentioned before.

At the same time, I hold that Brown's hypothesis would gain strength if he would follow up Alfred Nutt's suggestion (*Voyage of Bran*, II, 189) that the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* themselves have agrarian significance. Relying on the "Conquest of the Sid," one of the fore-tales of the famous *Táin bó Cúailnge* (*ibid.*, p. 188), which tells what means the sons of Mil employed before they were "able to harvest corn and drink the milk of their cows," Nutt concludes:

And when this rôle is found connected with the practice of ritual sacrifice, the conclusion of the true nature of the *Tuatha dé Danaan* seems inevitable [p. 189].

As holders and givers of life, the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* are alike deathless and capable of manifestation under the most diverse forms . . . hence their wizard might; hence, too, the attribute of deathlessness, so marked a feature of themselves and their land (p. 195). That is, even the ritualistic side of the Grail story, cropping up in such numerous forms, may have its ultimate background in Celtic folk tales, which, of course, would preserve material long ago discarded by Irish heroic saga. To affirm, as Bruce does (p. 281), that "our knowledge of any Celtic agrarian cult is simply nil, so the way is barred to any progress in that direction," is a *petitio principii*: he appears to assume that such agrarian features as have already been found² are not agrarian. And he seems to me to forget that much may depend on leaving the doors of inquiry wide open.³

The last portion of Bruce's study deals with the relation of the Pseudo-Robert Cycle and that which goes under the name of Map (the Vulgate

¹ See Brown, "Kittredge Papers," pp. 235 ff.

² I refer the reader, in particular, to Nutt's account (p. 184) of the *Dinnshenchas of Carman*.

³ A valuable statement on this point will be found in Singer's study of the *Lanzelet* (*Aufsätze und Vorträge*, Tübingen, 1912, p. 151). This title seems to be lacking in Bruce's bibliography.

Cycle). Here he accepts, with certain modifications, the well-known view of Wechssler (*Ueber die verschiedenen Redaktionen*). Here, too, his own researches serve to illuminate the subject. All of this latter portion is valuable, since it enables the reader to find his way through a maze of monographs and MS material.

Especially noteworthy is the "discussion" on Robert de Boron (Vol. II, chap. x). Bruce makes clear that Robert wrote only *one* redaction of his metrical poems,¹ and he is undoubtedly right that the name *Hebron* (in the metrical *Joseph*) is taken from the Old Testament, where it is the name of one of the Levites to whom the Ark of the Covenant was intrusted. But Robert did not "belong . . . originally to Picardy" (II, 114); he came from the Franche-Comté, as a study of his dialect shows; and it seems altogether probable that the name *Bron* (variant of *Hebron*) is due to a conscious identification of the Celtic *Bran* with the biblical *Hebron*. Moreover, it is incorrect to state that Pietsch errs in his hypothesis about the Spanish *Baladro* (see I, 460, note), as it seems clear that this text is merely a *Merlin and Suite*, and not an "incomplete Spanish version of the lost *Conte del Brail*" (see *MP*, XI, 9).

Finally, while one may agree that the *Didot-Perceval* in its present form is not by Robert himself, it is hard for me to believe that Robert did not intend to have Perceval, the son of Alain, finally appear as the Grail hero. And, if so, the *Didot-Perceval* may well have been "a continuation of Robert de Boron's *Joseph-Merlin*," at a fairly early date. In short, the burden of proof seems to me to rest on Bruce's contrary view, and not on those scholars who consider the romance to be antecedent to the Vulgate Cycle. In any case, Bruce has unearthed no new "facts" in regard to this important question. The same observation holds for his view of the *Perlesraus*. My own view is that this romance was composed, in the interests of Glastonbury Abbey, sometime between 1202 and 1212. If so, it must have been written before the Vulgate Cycle, and, as others have maintained, have been a source of the Cycle. This would be contrary to Bruce's hypothesis, as it is also to that of Lot. Since Bruce gives complete references to the material I have adduced, I may rest the case with a well-known quotation from Thomas' *Tristan* (vss. 2154-56):

Ne voil jo vers eus estriver;
Tengent le lur e jo le men:
La raisun s'i provera ben!

I conclude this long review by recommending Bruce's treatise to all students of medieval literature. For sheer information, clearly presented, it is without an equal in the alluring field of Arthurian studies. It stimulates thought and stirs the imagination; it opens the way for further investigation. What greater assets are there for a work of erudition?

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¹ For a similar view and a discussion of Robert's dialect, etc., see my recent article in *The Manly Anniversary Studies*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 3-14.

The Influence of Milton on English Poetry. By RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. Pp. xii+722.

This volume assembles one of the most extensive masses of detail to be found in any recent work of American scholarship. Criticism and imitation of Milton, especially in the eighteenth century, are exhaustively presented in the text, and in the elaborate appendixes are extensive bibliographies and long lists of parallels found in Milton's most notable admirers. The whole is no stately pleasure dome; it is rather a quarry from which scholars will in years to come abstract many a useful block of building material.

The excellences of the study are almost entirely those of material, and the defects are almost entirely those of method. As a compendium of miscellaneous information about the vogue of Milton in the eighteenth century there can be no doubt of the usefulness of Mr. Havens' work; as a clear demonstration of the nature of Milton's influence on English poetry, it is less satisfactory. The author has almost suffered the fate of that regretted savant, M. Fulgence Tapir—his notes, multiplied by the hundred and by the thousand, have at the last become an uncontrollable avalanche. They cannot be reduced to structural order.

The volume is divided into three "parts." The first deals with "The Attitude of the Eighteenth Century towards Milton" in three chapters, each of which overlaps the others in subject-matter. Part II, on "The Influence of *Paradise Lost*," has a preliminary chapter (iv) containing material, some of which would seem to belong in Part I. Chapters v–xi deal with the more important followers of Milton, arranged in roughly chronological order, and then chapters xii–xvi take up the influence of the great epic on various genres which use blank verse. Part III (four chapters) treats of the influence of the shorter poems. These divisions are evidently not made on a single, unifying principle of analysis, nor are they mutually exclusive. In view of the recognized complexity of the task one is inclined to be lenient, but it is difficult to be so. When we find, within the individual chapters, authors straying needlessly from their strictly chronological places—Dryden (p. 118) is a typical case—when one finds amid the wreckage of unhappy, far-off epics information to the effect that certain old volumes used had existed with uncut pages for a century or more, that there was a statue of Milton as *Il Penseroso* in Vauxhall Gardens, that W. E. Wall's *Christ Crucified* "stands in the Harvard Library next to *In Memoriam*," etc., one sees that in conducting us through an eighteenth-century *dépôt des épaves*, Mr. Havens intends to call our attention to everything, and that the items are too varied to admit of orderly arrangement.

The moral is that even when one collects with thoroughness and accuracy—as Mr. Havens does—it is dangerous to use everything collected. In the present case, it may be urged, there is a commendable attempt to show

the *amount* of Milton's influence by piling up details. It seems doubtful if such an attempt is commendable, unless the popularity of a given work has been questioned. Everybody knows that the influence of Milton was enormous, and literary criticism has no instruments by which to judge the exact quantity of an influence. Certainly Mr. Havens himself would hardly hold that his summary at the bottom of page 684 (indicating that *Paradise Lost* has influenced 1,239 poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, 449, and the remaining poems 150) has any particular value.

What we are really interested in is the nature and importance of Milton's influence. That can be determined only by neglecting trivial details and concentrating upon essential qualities of Milton's appeal. Analysis of Milton's art will of course be a necessary preliminary, but Mr. Havens' analysis (chap. iv) is too much concerned with the externals of Milton's technique, and at the end he fails to derive from the *disiecta membra* of the poet's qualities any valuable conclusion. "No Man" (to parody Young)¹ "can be like" Milton, "by imitating any of his *particular* Works. . . . The Genius and Spirit of such great Men must be collected from the *whole*; and when thus we are possess'd of it, we must exert its Energy in *Subjects* and *Designs* of our own." If one wishes to know what the "genius and spirit" of Milton meant to his disciples, one will, on consulting this volume, turn away from its beautifully printed pages with a mind blurred by multitudinous detail and with no clear answer to any central question. There is too much preoccupation with such externals as diction and verse form, and even here the interpretation of materials collected seems capable of improvement.

But when all is said, the richness of the material justifies this particular example of collecting facts. Certainly collecting in itself is of no value unless done on a great scale. Few have done more of it in recent American volumes than has Mr. Havens, and most students of the eighteenth century will to the end of their days go "prospecting" frequently in this volume.

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On the History of the English Present Inflections Particularly -th and -s.

By ERIK HOLMQUIST. Heidelberg, 1922. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. Pp. xvi+194.

This is a thorough and comprehensive study of the subject-matter indicated by the title. Probably its most striking contribution is the author's theory of the origin of *-s* in the third person singular in the Northern dialect. His opinion is that the second person singular influenced the second person plural so that the latter adopted the former's ending (*-s*),

¹ Quoted by Mr. Havens on p. 159.

that then the first and third persons plural adopted it, and that finally the third person singular began to use it, by analogy with the second singular and the entire plural. The way in which the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Ritual confirm this theory is startling. It seems strange that later the author makes no effort to give a reason for the fact that *-s* is more tenacious in the third person singular than in the plural.

After discussing the origin of the third person singular ending in *-s*, the author studies in detail its history until its establishment as the standard form. His consideration of the relation of *-s* and *-eth* in the London English of the sixteenth century is particularly interesting. From the Cely letters, he argues that *-s* had become dominant in colloquial speech by 1500. Thence it passed into verse, being used first in rimes and later (by Surrey) within the line, when a short form was needed for meter. Surrey and his followers used *-eth* conventionally as a long form for meter, though one would expect the *-e* to be syncopated there as it was in *-(e)s*. The *-eth* form remains standard in prose until nearly 1600, a fact "which is evidently due to traditional writing and to the conservative character of the written language."

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J. R. HULBERT

Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose. Edited by KENNETH SISAM. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems. Edited and Translated by N. KERSHAW. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The Laws of the Earliest English Kings. Edited and Translated by F. L. ATTENBOROUGH, M.A., Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The Owl and the Nightingale. Edited with Introduction, Texts, Notes, Translation, and Glossary, by J. W. H. ATKINS. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman. By D. CHADWICK. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The Pastons and Their England. By H. S. BENNETT. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The publication of this group of handsomely printed books presumably indicates a developing interest in medieval English studies in England. But their absolute value is less than their promise of future activity. An American must surmise that they are planned for uses peculiar to England and her colonies. Thus, the absence of a glossary in the first three (though

returned to England simply because he lacked funds, and with the evident determination to go back as soon as possible to Annette to marry her. War intervened. The poet's enthusiasm for the Revolution gradually waned; his latent patriotism as gradually flamed up in his heart. His conscience troubled him for long; but, as most other poets would have done, "he gradually freed himself from his remorse by uttering it" in a series of poems upon forsaken wives and unwedded mothers. The mysterious and wholly English Lucy of the little group of poems written in Germany came to stand between Wordsworth and his French love. And gradually the deepening regard for the woman who was to be his wife alienated his affection still farther from Annette.

And so it came about that when peace was temporarily restored it found Wordsworth on the eve of marriage with Mary Hutchinson. He and Dorothy, after consultation with an unnamed "Frenchman" in London (mentioned in Dorothy's *Journal*), journeyed to Calais, there to meet Mme Vallon and her daughter and Wordsworth's, Caroline, now a girl of ten. These strangely assorted people, bound together by ties of memory, severed by years of war, and by nationality and political opinions and temperaments, were together for a month. In the words of George Crabbe:

It might some wonder in a stranger move,
That these together could have talked of love.

They parted in friendship; it speaks well for Wordsworth that he and Annette parted in friendship—she to bring up her daughter with the aid of an allowance from the father; he to marry Mary Hutchinson. As a whole the story is one of strength rather than weakness; but one's judgment upon Wordsworth's decision to blot out all record of it, if possible, cannot be so favorable.

Professor Legouis closes his admirable discourse with the question which must often face the literary historian who comes unaware upon some personal secret in the life of some great man or woman to whom he has devoted long years of study. Is it right to rescue from oblivion what has been purposely hidden? "Might not edification be the aim of criticism as well as of poetry? . . . Is truth so absolute a good in itself?" The words of St. Jerome (so impressively cited by Mr. Hardy in one of his prefaces) are to the point: "If an offence come by the truth, better is it that the offence cometh than that the truth be concealed." Professor Legouis' final paragraph is a paraphrase of this sturdy declaration.

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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH SIR PERCEVAL¹

XXIV

*King Arthur had many talismans, among them, no doubt, a
cup of plenty*

The conclusion to which we have arrived is that King Arthur had a cup of plenty like that which every fairy court possessed and like that out of which, by a process of glorification and ecclesiasticization, the grail developed. This conclusion is new, but it is in accordance with general probabilities.

From the most ancient times the Irish fairies were the gods of life and increase, dwelling in palaces of unearthly splendor within hollow hills or beneath the water of lakes and seas, just as they do in Irish folklore today. Every fairy monarch, Manannán, the Dagda, Lug, Brion, possessed a collection of talismans upon which his power depended. From the ever flowing stream of folk tradition about these gods of faerie, the heroic sagas of Ireland were in great part derived. The sagas bear witness that in popular story the talismans of the gods had been transferred to the historical, or supposedly historical, heroes: Cuchulinn, Cormac, Crimthann, Finn, and the like. The supernatural origin of these talismans wielded by mortal heroes was remembered, for we are almost always told in connection with each talisman that it was brought from fairyland.²

¹ Continued from *Modern Philology*, XVI, 553-68; XVII, 361-82; XVIII, 201-28, 661-73; XXII, 79-96.

² Cuchulinn's steed, the Grey of Macha, came from the bottom of a lake, *Táin Bó*, ed. Windisch, pp. 490, 670, n. 5; *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, sec. 31; Cuchulinn [*MODERN PHILOLOGY*, November, 1924] 113

a glossary is mentioned in Sisam's Introduction, p. xliii) makes them useless for our university classes, and the translations present in the first four are unnecessary for such purposes.

Despite these strange disadvantages, two of the text publications have real value, Sisam's for the discriminating and suggestive Introduction, the head-notes to the various selections, and the textual notes; Attenborough's because it presents the laws in much more compact and handy form than Lieberman's great edition does. The second of the books listed is a puzzle. Why should one publish in a single volume six Anglo-Saxon and seven Norse poems? What unity exists in the grouping of the particular poems included, for instance, why print "The Battle of Brunanburh" and omit "The Battle of Maldon"? The edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* is a splendid and thorough piece of work, but when one realizes that it is in no important respect superior to Professor Wells's edition, one is appalled at the waste of time and energy in the preparation of it.

The last two belong to a series—"Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought"—edited by G. G. Coulton. They are systematic compilations of the evidences as to social life which their authors find in the two works named. They should be useful in making readily available that class of information.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

J. R. HULBERT

Oceana. By JAMES HARRINGTON. Edited with notes by S. B. Liljegren. Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund, 4. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Dr. Liljegren has issued the first of what promises to be a series of studies on Harrington and his *Oceana*. Following upon text and notes, which we have here, will come a volume on the *Oceana* and related problems, and another on Harrington's famous theory of the balance of property and its historical significance. Some of the notes in the present volume contain material for what will later appear as articles or monographs, and indeed two such have already done so.

The text here presented makes a readable page and wherever tested seems to be accurate. The original is set up in a variety of type fonts and something approaching the original variety is here reproduced. The two copies in the Columbia Library, however, show the bastard title-page in capitals and lower-case letters, not wholly in capitals as Dr. Liljegren prints it. The same is true of at least two words in the title-page itself. Dr. Liljegren also prints as follows:

PRINTED FOR D. PAKEMAN, AND ARE TO BE SOLD/AT HIS SHOP AT THE RAINBOW IN FLEET-STREET,

1656

Both Columbia copies have:

Printed by J. Streater, for *Livewell Chap-/man*, and are to be sold at his Shop at/the Crown in *Popes-Head-Alley*,

1656

I do not find that Dr. Liljegren draws attention to the variant title-pages. Harrington had difficulty in getting his book printed probably, as tradition has it, because Cromwell suspected in it some lurking danger to his rule. It is an interesting book; no mere utopia, but a practical plan of government, which Harrington and his disputants at the Rota hoped to see presently adopted *in toto*. This of course never came to pass, but Harrington foresaw the course which England's colonial empire was to follow, and the book was not without influence on the American Constitution. *Oceana* deserves the wider and more intelligent study which Dr. Liljegren's labors will win for it. His is the first adequate reprint, and his notes are a mine of learning.

HARRY MORGAN AYRES

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Wordsworth in a New Light. BY EMILE LEGOUIS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923.

In this lecture, brief, lucid, judicious, and humane, the author of *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth* characterizes the youthful Wordsworth in the light of the documents relating to his life in France in 1792 which have been discovered by himself and Professor G. M. Harper. It is needless to retell here the story of the connection with Annette Vallon. When first revealed to the world in 1916 Professor Harper's narrative seemed to be of the kind to cause the charitable to grieve and the profane to scoff; but the complete history of the poet's French love affair, when correlated with his character, his circumstances, and his youth, is as natural as "the extreme naturalness of natural children under the Georges." The phrase quoted is Professor Legouis'; and to his instances of the ingenuous frankness with which our ancestors accepted the arrival of such children might be added the case of Harriet Smith in *Emma* and the several other allusions to relatives with arms bearing the bar-sinister in the novels of so prim a little lady as Jane Austen. When, in addition to this fact, it is remembered that Wordsworth was deeply influenced by the writings of William Godwin, the theoretical adversary of matrimony, though he married twice, and when one notes the carefully veiled and softened allusions to the poet's passionate temperament which, despite repeated revisions in later years, were allowed to survive in the text of certain poems, the whole affair passes before one's mental vision with entire clarity.

There is no truth in the statement occasionally met with that Annette's family prohibited a marriage with the young Englishman. Wordsworth

returned to England simply because he lacked funds, and with the evident determination to go back as soon as possible to Annette to marry her. War intervened. The poet's enthusiasm for the Revolution gradually waned; his latent patriotism as gradually flamed up in his heart. His conscience troubled him for long; but, as most other poets would have done, "he gradually freed himself from his remorse by uttering it" in a series of poems upon forsaken wives and unwedded mothers. The mysterious and wholly English Lucy of the little group of poems written in Germany came to stand between Wordsworth and his French love. And gradually the deepening regard for the woman who was to be his wife alienated his affection still farther from Annette.

And so it came about that when peace was temporarily restored it found Wordsworth on the eve of marriage with Mary Hutchinson. He and Dorothy, after consultation with an unnamed "Frenchman" in London (mentioned in Dorothy's *Journal*), journeyed to Calais, there to meet Mme Vallon and her daughter and Wordsworth's, Caroline, now a girl of ten. These strangely assorted people, bound together by ties of memory, severed by years of war, and by nationality and political opinions and temperaments, were together for a month. In the words of George Crabbe:

It might some wonder in a stranger move,
That these together could have talked of love.

They parted in friendship; it speaks well for Wordsworth that he and Annette parted in friendship—she to bring up her daughter with the aid of an allowance from the father; he to marry Mary Hutchinson. As a whole the story is one of strength rather than weakness; but one's judgment upon Wordsworth's decision to blot out all record of it, if possible, cannot be so favorable.

Professor Legouis closes his admirable discourse with the question which must often face the literary historian who comes unaware upon some personal secret in the life of some great man or woman to whom he has devoted long years of study. Is it right to rescue from oblivion what has been purposely hidden? "Might not edification be the aim of criticism as well as of poetry? . . . Is truth so absolute a good in itself?" The words of St. Jerome (so impressively cited by Mr. Hardy in one of his prefaces) are to the point: "If an offence come by the truth, better is it that the offence cometh than that the truth be concealed." Professor Legouis' final paragraph is a paraphrase of this sturdy declaration.

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Modern Philology

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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH SIR PERCEVAL¹

XXIV

*King Arthur had many talismans, among them, no doubt, a
cup of plenty*

The conclusion to which we have arrived is that King Arthur had a cup of plenty like that which every fairy court possessed and like that out of which, by a process of glorification and ecclesiasticization, the grail developed. This conclusion is new, but it is in accordance with general probabilities.

From the most ancient times the Irish fairies were the gods of life and increase, dwelling in palaces of unearthly splendor within hollow hills or beneath the water of lakes and seas, just as they do in Irish folklore today. Every fairy monarch, Manannán, the Dagda, Lug, Brion, possessed a collection of talismans upon which his power depended. From the ever flowing stream of folk tradition about these gods of faerie, the heroic sagas of Ireland were in great part derived. The sagas bear witness that in popular story the talismans of the gods had been transferred to the historical, or supposedly historical, heroes: Cuchulinn, Cormac, Crimthann, Finn, and the like. The supernatural origin of these talismans wielded by mortal heroes was remembered, for we are almost always told in connection with each talisman that it was brought from fairyland.²

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² Cuchulinn's steed, the Grey of Macha, came from the bottom of a lake, *Táin Bó*, ed. Windisch, pp. 490, 670, n. 5; *Fled Bricrend*, ed. Henderson, sec. 31; Cuchulinn [*MODERN PHILOLOGY*, November, 1924] 113

That Cuchulinn, Finn, and other Irish heroes borrowed the attributes of ancient fairy kings or demigods is in some cases certain, and in most cases generally admitted. It has not, however, been so clearly recognized that King Arthur was among the Welsh such a legendary hero, who was fitted out with talismans borrowed from stories about demigods.

The first mention of Arthur (that in the so-called Nennius) implies that he had a marvelous shield and sword. The *Mirabilia*, which are as old as the year 825, refer to his wonderful dog, Cabal. These references prove, as I have elsewhere shown,¹ that Arthur was already in 825² becoming for the Welsh a saga-hero like the Irish Cuchulinn and Cormac. Like Cuchulinn and Cormac he gradually inherited the treasures and the talismans of older lords of faerie—of Manannán, Brion, and Lug. In the 300 years during which oral tradition flourished in Wales before we have any extended record of it (till "Kulhwch and Olwen," ca. 1125,³ there was ample time for the Welsh to exalt Arthur into a fairy monarch, and to give him all sorts of fairy belongings, including, of course, cups of plenty. In the genuine Welsh story "Kulhwch and Olwen" Arthur is frankly a fairy king who mentions proudly many of his talismans: a ship, a mantle, a sword (Caletvwlch), a spear, a shield, and a dagger.⁴ I have already shown that the names of most of these objects convey an idea of whiteness or glitter,⁵ and that this is one of numerous signs of their fairy origin.

had the cauldron and the cows of Curol, a water demon, Thurneysen, *Königsage*, p. 434; Calad-côlc, the sword of Fergus, came out of a fairy mound, *Táin Bó*, l. 6023; the "Luin" of Celtchar was found in the Battle of Moytura, "Togall Bruidne ul Dergae," ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 301; Cormac's "cup of truth" was the gift of Manannán, "Echtra Cormaic," ed. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 198, 216; Crimthann's chessboard was brought from an underwater fairyland, "Airne Fingean," § 5, *Romanic Review*, IX (1918), 38; Finn had the treasures of Manannán and the shield of Manannán, "Dunaire Finn," *Irish Texts Soc.*, VII, 31, 35, 119, 137.

¹ *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 29. Recently both Schoepperle-Loomis, *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, p. 10, and Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 9, 82, have dwelt on the vigorous early growth of marvelous stories about Arthur.

² On this date see Thurneysen, *Ztsch. f. d. Phil.*, XXVIII (1895), 80.

³ On this date see Loth, *Contributions* (1912), p. 45; Thurneysen, *Ztsch. f. celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 283.

⁴ Ed. Rhys and Evans, *The Red Book of Hergest*, I, 105; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 259.

⁵ "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 32. According to the oldest accounts the lance of the grail castle was white or luminous: Wauchier, see *PMLA*, XXV, 7; Chrétien's *C*, ed. Baist, vss. 3154, 3159, 4620, 6339; cf. Dutch *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vss. 38549, 38555 "Dat witte blodende spere." The grail glittered, Wauchier, ed.

The only other Welsh Arthurian romance that is certainly free from the influence of extant French romances—"The Dream of Rhonobwy"¹—agrees in general with "Kulhwch and Olwen" in picturing Arthur as a kind of fairy lord, and mentions his wonderful sword and his magic mantle.

Perhaps the Welsh had only rather short oral tales about Arthur until contact with the Normans stimulated them² to write out longer stories of which "Kulhwch" and "Rhonobwy" are extant examples. Doubtless discordant tales were current; some giving Arthur a spear and a sword, but no cup of plenty; others, a cup of plenty and a chess-board, but no spear.

The present argument confirms a view which I indicated some years ago³ that the "four jewels" of the T.D.D., despite all kinds of alterations and additions, tended to remain together as a set of talismans; that they were known in Wales; that at an early time, certainly by 1100, they were all more or less attached to Arthur; and that they are the basis of the talismans of the grail castle. Since they were the regular furniture of any fairy castle, their continuing together was a natural result of the steadiness of fairy belief among the Irish and Welsh.⁴

Potvin, vss. 28069-72; Chrétien's *C*, 3188; Boron's *Joseph*, vss. 719, 2032. This is a proof that bleeding lance and grail were in origin fairy objects. It is no stumblingblock for my theory of a connection between Arthur and a cup of plenty that the celebrated list in "Kulhwch and Olwen" contains no cup of plenty. The story goes on to relate that Arthur, at Kulhwch's demand, undertook a quest for (among other things) some four marvelous vessels. It expressly relates that he obtained and carried off one of them; namely, "The Cauldron of Diwrnach" (*Red Book*, I, 135). An archaic Welsh poem likewise represents Arthur as carrying off a marvelous cauldron (Skene, *Four Books*, I, 264; II, 181).

¹ Composed somewhat later than 1150 (Loth, *Contributions*, p. 48).

² York Powell wrote me in 1901: "The books, I think, were Breton, and the poems and oral traditions Welsh, that Wace and Geoffrey had."

³ "The Round Table before Wace," (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VII (1900), 199; "The Bleeding Lance," *PMLA*, XXV, 57. The number, four, makes no difference to the argument which depends upon the fact that a set of varying talismans is often described in the oldest Irish tales; e.g., "Airne Fingein," a tenth-century story, translated in *Romanic Review*, IX, 37-38.

⁴ This is the view that seems natural and reasonable. Some (none of them folklorists, I think) insist that Arthur did not become a saga-hero till the Norman-French took him up (see Bruce, *Evolution of A.R.*, I, 38), and that it was only in French that Arthur could have been given the trappings of the old Celtic gods—Manannán and Lug. Those who adhere to this view need not be antagonistic to the present argument, provided they admit, what seems undeniable, that the French drew their Arthurian fairy materials chiefly from Welsh or Breton, oral or written, tradition, and that they had elaborated a rather complete picture of Arthur's court very early, certainly before 1100.

It is not necessary for the present argument to prove that the Round Table was anciently connected with Arthur. The argument is that Arthur inherited talismans from older lords of faerie, not that every object connected with Arthur in the romances sprang from a fairy talisman. It is, however, probable that besides a cup of plenty Arthur had long since adopted a marvelous table¹ to go with it. But just as the cup of plenty did not grow into the grail till the French began to tell the stories, so perhaps Arthur's table was not called the Round Table except by the French who were struck by the (to them) unusual shape. This idea is suggested by Brugger in his review of Mott's "The Round Table."² Brugger points out that Wace's explanation of the roundness of the table—namely, that all might sit on an equality—can hardly be ancient. I see no reason to doubt, however, that *Lazamon's* barbaric fight at Arthur's board was a genuine Welsh story, and probably one of those "fables of the Bretons" that Wace knew,³ only I now agree with Brugger that the setting of the tale (i.e., its connection with the roundness of the table) though older than Wace, was invented by men who had forgotten the original character of Arthur's feasts. Wolfram (*Parzival*. 309, 12 f.) pictures Arthur's feast as a circle on the grass. Arthur's feasts and the feast of the grail castle were round because the Celtic fairies feasted in a circle. Arthur as fairy king fell heir to the fairy feasts held especially at Samhuin (November 1) in circular mounds, raths, or cromlechs. Of course there is a connection with the ancient round houses of the Celts.⁴

For the present purpose it does not matter which view one chooses about the Round Table. The essential thing is to make clear that Geoffrey, Wace, and *Lazamon* show that they know Arthur as a saga-king, who owned talismans about which wonderful tales were current. They do not, of course, choose to tell these tales for fear of spoiling the pseudo-historical tone of their chronicles.

¹ The Welsh dialogue that mentions Arthur's "long table" may be witness of this; cf. *Romania*, XXVIII (1899), 347, note.

² *Ztschr. f. franz. Sp.*, XXIX³ (1906), 243 f.

³ Even the skeptical Bruce agreed to this, *op. cit.*, I, 87.

⁴ See my "Round Table before Wace" (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VII, 196 f.; Mott, *PMLA*, XX, 231; Miss Weston, *Mélanges Wilmotte*, p. 885; and, on the shape of the grail castle, Nitze, *Studies in Honor of A. M. Elliott*, I, 19. Hertha Brandenburg (*Galfrid von Monmouth*, Berlin diss. [1918], p. 137) has failed to prove that the Round Table story originated in medieval tournaments.

Geoffrey mentions Arthur's sword, Caliburnus; shield, Pridwen; and lance, Ron.¹ Wace adds the Round Table.

That Arthur inherited at least one of the talismans of the lords of faerie has been proved with almost mathematical precision. His well-known sword, Caliburn, derives both name and properties from a famous Irish sword, Calad-colc, that was brought out a *std.*² In Chrétien's *C (Conte du Graal)* "Escalibor" is Gawain's sword (ed. Baist, 5864; Potvin, 7280). It is an almost certain conjecture that in the source of *C*, a lost Gawain-book,³ it was the grail sword.

Another name of Welsh origin (not yet pointed out in Irish) which is connected with the grail tradition is Gringalet. In *C*, Gringalet is Gawain's horse (6171, 7100; Potvin, 7583, 8498). In *Parzival* we are told that Gawain rode a grail horse "mit den rōten ðren Gringaljete" (ed. Martin, 339, 29 and note). Now red ears are a well-known peculiarity of Celtic fairy beasts.⁴ Like Excalibur, Gringalet was, therefore, the name of a fairy object belonging to the grail tradition. Like Excalibur, it is a word of Celtic origin. In the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, reproduced by J. G. Evans (p. 28, l. 9), in a triad we read "kein caled .m. Gualchmei" (Keincaled horse of G.). This triad is in the bold handwriting of the earlier part of the MS, which is thought by Evans to date from 1154. Nobody dates the MS later than the twelfth century, and nobody has detected in it any influence of French romance. Without doubt Keincaled represents a Welsh source for the name of Gawain's horse.⁵

¹ The corresponding names in "Kulhwch and Olwen" are: Caletwylch, Prytwenn, Rongomyant, *PMLA*, XXV, 26.

² Zimmer, *Gott. gel. Anz.* (1890), pp. 516-17. See, now, Thurneysen, *Ztschr. f. Celt. Phil.*, XII (1918), 281. I have shown that Calad-colc was by the Irish identified with the Sword of Nuadu, one of the "four jewels" of the T.D.D. (*Kittredge Anniversary Vol.*, 1913, p. 246). It is natural to suppose that Arthur's spear, Ron (and by another tradition the Bleeding Lance of the grail castle), goes back to the spear of Lug, which was called the "Luin"; and that the grail derives its properties from the Cauldron of the Dagda, with an addition of some of those ascribed to the Stone of Destiny.

³ See below, p. 124. In the Vulgate *Merlin*, ed. Sommer, II, 253, Arthur presents Excalibur to young Gawain.

⁴ Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology* (1903), p. 230; Cross, *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 597, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. "Carnawlauc horse of Owain." *Black Book*, p. 27, l. 8; "Caringrun horse of Gwyn son of Nud." *ibid.*, v. 98, l. 7. Zimmer, although he thought that Keincaled was the source of Gringalet, in his passion for Breton origins tried to show that the name might not be ancient in Wales, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XIII (1891), 18-26. He was refuted by Lot, *Romania*, XXV (1896), 4. Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.* XXX, 36-37; *Romania*, XX, 149-50. Gawain's horse is called "Guingalet" in Chrétien's *Erec*, vss. 3955 (see Foerster's note in his larger edition), 3965, 4085. In Hartmann's *Erec*, vs. 4714, the

In view of the fact that Arthur became for the Welsh a fairy king, and drew into his charmed circle a Celtic sword Excalibur and a fairy horse Gringaleit, is it not a natural conjecture that he must at an early time have attracted to his marvelous court a fairy cup of plenty? There can be but one answer to this question. Stories must have been rife that gave him a fairy cup such as is found in every fairy palace.

Sp is such a story, sadly rationalized and confused, and the gold cup is a development of such a fairy cup of plenty. This brings Arthur very close to the grail, since the grail is (according to our hypothesis) but another development from a fairy cup of plenty.

The connection of Arthur and the grail has every appearance of being old. All grail stories introduce Arthur.¹ Arthur and the grail disappear at last in the sea.

So far back as 1880² Martin expressed an opinion that Arthur was once the grail king (not Arthur at that period of his life usually depicted in the romances but Arthur wounded in his last battle, and carried to Avalon to be healed—an old man, ill from wounds that only a prodigy could heal). Huet adopted this view.³ More recently Brugger has inclined to this view,⁴ pointing out that it explains why the loss of the grail occasioned the enchantment of Britain (Llogres = Arthur's kingdom).

We must distinguish between the grail, by which I mean the mysterious object first told of in Wauchier and *C*, and a fairy cup of plenty. Arthur was not lord of the grail, but he was, as *Sp* indicates, lord of a cup of plenty like that out of which the grail developed. Popular tradition, no doubt, preserved some connection between Arthur's cup of plenty and the grail, and here is an explanation of the scattered links, noted by Martin, that bind Arthur to the grail.

correct form is Wintwaliten (see Zwierzina, *Ztsch. f. d. Alt.*, XLV, 317). Some other occurrences of the name are: *Vengeance de Raguidel*, ed. Friedwagner, vss. 983 (see note, p. 210), 2653; *Le Cimetière Perilleux*, ed. Herrig's *Archiv*, XLII (1868), 258; *Fergus*, vs. 6720; *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, ed. Armstrong, vs. 226; (English) *Gawain*, vs. 597; (Dutch) *Lancelot*, ed. Jonckbloet, vss. 38875, 44833 (=te Winkel, *Moriaen*, vs. 1493); Sommer, *Vulgate Romances*, see Index.

¹ Except *Sone de Nansai*.

² *Quellen und Forschungen*, XLII, 31. Also in *Parsifal*, II (1903), p. lx.

³ *De Beweging*, III (1907), 254 f.

⁴ *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XLIV² (1916), 108.

Martin and Huet were not absolutely wrong in thinking that Arthur was once the grail king. Only they should have said that he was once a king of a cup of plenty, as in our reconstruction of *Sp*. In the romances Arthur could not be the grail king because the conception of him as a splendid monarch was too firmly fixed for him to be depicted as a victim of enchantment.¹ In the English *Sp* it was possible for Arthur to be lord of the cup because his enchantment and consequent helplessness are so slurred over as to be unintelligible, and consequently they do not clash harshly with the current conception of him as a feudal king.

It has often been remarked that *Sp* (and *Pd*) tell a Perceval (Peredur) story with no grail in it. This is correct if we use the word "grail" in a strict sense. They show no trace that Arthur was lord of anything other than a cup of plenty such as was found at every well-appointed fairy court. Griffith in his study of *Sp* came to the conclusion that the grail entered the story late.² This is also correct if we keep the word "grail" for the mysterious object which is called by that name in *C*.

XXV

*The gold cup in Chrétien's Conte du Graal was once a
cup of plenty*

We have seen that stories about battles between fairy folk and Fomorians were common in ancient Irish, and that the most famous of these was the "Battle of Moytura" (*CMT*), which is in substance older than the rise of Arthurian romance. We have observed that *Sp* follows the formula of such a battle, fought by the aid of talismans, and that consequently all of the objects prominent in *Sp* were, in an earlier form of the plot, talismans. It follows that the gold cup in *Sp* must once have been a cup of plenty, and we have seen that tales doubtless existed ascribing to King Arthur a talismanic cup. We conclude that the corresponding gold cup in *C* (Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*) was also, in origin, a talisman, and we ask ourselves, What could have been the make-up of *C*, or rather of its source, *x*?

¹ But at the beginning of *Perlesseus*, any close observer can see that Arthur is pictured as the victim of enchantment.

² *Sir Perceval, A Study of the Sources* (Chicago, 1911), p. 127.

Our evidence shows that x was a tandem story, and that the two parts were discordant variants of the same theme. The first part¹ was based upon a story about a talismanic cup that belonged to Arthur; the second part² upon a story about a similar cup, called "a grail," that belonged, not to Arthur, but to one of the mysterious older lords of faerie (probably Irish Brion; Welsh Bran; Brons in the *Joseph* of Boron).³

Our hypothesis is that the author of x (the lost source of C , and of Kyôt-Wolfram) prefixed to a grail story, into the development of which we cannot now go,⁴ a story that resembled Sp (and Pd), and which told of a fairy cup of plenty. This was rigidly rationalized, so that the repetition of the cup theme was not glaringly obvious. Chrétien, although he no doubt adapted the story to the fashions of his day, appropriated the plot of x . His C , therefore, follows incident by incident Sp (and Pd) to the end of the Castle of Maidens episode, and then diverges altogether—a divergence that marks the beginning of the second part of x , or the true grail story. The tandem plot of x led to the repetition of a more or less rationalized fairy cup of plenty in C : first as a gold cup of Arthur, and second as "*un graal*" (ed. Baist, 3182). No such repetition is in Sp (or Pd). Another consequence is that the original machinery of a conflict between two superhuman or semidivine races is in C greatly disordered and entangled.⁵

Reiteration, such as our hypothesis supposes to have existed in x (the common source of C and Kyôt-Wolfram), was not unusual in MSS that relate popular tradition. Many Irish sagas exist in conflate⁶ versions in which the compiler, eager to keep all the incidents of two

¹ Which corresponds to C , ed. Potvin, vss. 1283–4150.

² Which corresponds to C , vss. 4150 ff.

³ Elsewhere I hope to show that Welsh "Bran" is to be identified with Irish "Brion." The story of Bran and his cauldron (Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 129 f.) gives a hint of the kind of story that was the source of the second part of x (and of the grail part of C).

⁴ I hope to deal with this problem in another place.

⁵ Griffith (*Sir Perceval*, p. 127), although he did not perceive that Arthur's gold cup was a rationalized cup of plenty, concluded that the combination between the stories of the first and second parts of C had occurred before Chrétien. He thought this because: "Chrétien was not averse to magic and marvels, but [the first part of C] has magic all expunged. In [the second part] the Grail story and the Gawain adventures, magic again occurs."

⁶ Zimmer, "Ueber den compilatorischen Charakter der irischen Sagentexte im LU," *Ztsch. f. vgl. Sprf.*, XXVIII (1887), 417–689. Thurneysen, *Königsage* (1921), pp. 25 f.

sources, has produced repetitions or doublets. A striking doublet of this kind may be observed by anybody who will turn the pages of *Fled Bricrend*¹ and observe the repetition of "the beheading game." In the *Imram Maelduin* the earthly paradise visit is at least thrice repeated.² In a Latin *Life of St. Brandan*, which has been conflated from two sources, occurs a monstrous doubling of the visit to the Land of Promise incident.³

This repetition in Brendan MSS⁴ is significant because the demonstrated history of that legend—a heathen Irish saga developing into a Latin and a French legend—is an exact parallel to what by our hypothesis was the history of the grail story.⁵ Both were stories of a quest; both were at first, I think, told of the Irish god Brion; both became ecclesiasticized.⁶

Some at least of the first French romances were built up in the same way by the reiteration of a favorite theme.⁷ We can trace such romance structure in the Welsh *Owain*,⁸ and in the German *Lanzelet*.⁹ Most MSS of *C*, like that at Mons which was printed by Potvin, contain successive and irreconcilable versions of the grail story.¹⁰ Our hypothesis is that even before Chrétien two irreconcilable versions of the cup-of-plenty theme were attached together.

¹ *Irish Texts Soc.*, II, 96–101; 116–29.

² See my papers in *Modern Philology*, XIV, 68; and (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 67.

³ Plummer, *Vitas Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, 98–151; see his discussion, I, xxxvii; *Ztschr. f. Celt. Phil.*, V, 124, 429.

⁴ The MSS are later than Chrétien's time but the conflation began earlier.

⁵ A probable relationship between the Legend of St. Brandan and that of the grail has been indicated by me in *Modern Philology*, XIV (1916), 385.

⁶ This ecclesiasticization seems to have been present already in the second part of *z* (the source of Chrétien's "grail"). This part of *z* probably said that the old man at the castle lived entirely from the grail because of his holiness (see *C*, ed. Baist, 6384), and blurred over the original pagan notion that he was in a death-in-life enchantment, and was kept alive by a talisman till a destined hero should come. Chrétien may have understood that some association existed between the grail procession and the Mass, but he merely hints at it, and leaves the grail largely pagan. See my discussion of this question, in *PMLA*, XXV, 7–10, and in *Modern Philology*, XIV, 401–2. Brugger, in his review (*Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXVI, 187) of the earlier article, thought that I rather overstated the heathen character of the grail in *C*.

⁷ The Welsh *Peredur*, too, shows several repetitions of theme. See Brugger, *ibid.*, XLIV, 169, and compare XXXI, 159; XX, 151.

⁸ This I have shown in *PMLA*, XX (1905), 681; and in *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 151. The original of *Owain* was a French romance that resembled the source of Chrétien's *Isain*.

⁹ See above, and *Modern Philology*, XVII, 365.

¹⁰ Twelve MSS out of sixteen according to Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 27 f.

Somebody today might undertake to build up a coherent grail story out of the Mons MS, keeping as many as possible of all the incidents. The hypothesis is that Chrétien had some such, a conflate, original.

The successive pieces in the Mons MS are: the "Elucidation," verses 1-484; Bliocadrans Prologue, 485-1282; Chrétien's unfinished *C*, 1283-10601; pseudo-Wauchier, 10602-21916; Wauchier, 21917-34934; Manessier, and Gerbert, to the extent of some 63,000 verses. All of these pieces were put into their present form after *C*, for they are arranged round *C*, and crudely connected to it. Several of them, however, represent an older tradition to which they conform as against *C*.

Our next task is to consider the bearing of these various pieces on our argument. First, in regard to *C*, it is needless to discuss the well-known parallelism between *Sp* and the first part of *C*, but it is worth noting that our argument explains several expressions in this part of *C* that nobody has accounted for.

C says that Perceval's mother, "la veve dame," lived in "la gaste forest soutaine" (ed. Baist, vs. 75). We can now see that "soutaine" stands for the Old French "soutane" or "souterrain" (under the earth), and referred to the Land beneath the Waves. Nobody understood the word,¹ because nobody remembered that Perceval's mother was a *fée*. The land was waste, as we can now see, because it had been enchanted by giants (Fomorians), who are here called the Red Knight, the King Clamadex, and his seneschal, Anguin-guerrons.

The castles mentioned—Arthur's (ed. Baist, 841), Gornemant's (1301), and Biaurepaire (1682)—are on the sea or on a great water. Perceval's father was feared "An totes les isles de mer" (399, 405). These statements are easily explained as survivals of an underwater realm, and also the description of the country outside of Biaurepaire: "One could see nothing except sea and water and waste land" (1685). This is a description of an undersea realm, like that where the grail castle lies in Wauchier (Potvin, 19953 f.).

Finally the various names given to the land where Perceval's mother lived, or with which she had dealings, seem to be corruptions

¹ Cf. Potvin, *Perceval*, I, 44. Wolfram mistook it for a place name, "Soltana" (*Parsival*, 117, 9). Baist, verse 1679, reads: "es forez sostainnes," and Potvin, verse 2895, "es fories soutaines." Cf. Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX (1916), 65.

of Avalon (Afallach),¹ the Welsh fairy island beneath or beyond the sea, to which the Irish Finncoire, mentioned previously,² corresponds.

The Bliocadran Prologue (vss. 485-1282) is one of the pieces that preserves a tradition older than *C*. Perhaps it represents a fragment of *x* (the source of *C* and of Kyôt-Wolfram).³ It contains several archaic features not in *C*. When Perceval's mother fled into the Waste Forest after the death of her husband, she announced that she was going "a saint Brandain d'Escoce orer."⁴ St. Brandan is, as I hope elsewhere to show, an easy Christianization of the heathen god Brion, or Bran. Originally, the lady went to the underwater realm of Bran. We are told that her place of refuge was in the Waste Forest, near a stream of water great enough to run a mill, and 100 leagues from any house.⁵ This may be a rationalization of the Waste Land beneath the waves. Then we read that people thought that she and her son "were dead and drowned in the sea."⁶ Readers of fairy tales know that this is a conventional way to account for the disappearance of those who have gone to Underwaveland.⁷

Three of the pieces in the Mons MS—the "Elucidation," pseudo-Wauchier, and Wauchier—refer to Bleheris⁸ as authority, and I

¹ "Li destroit de Valdone" (Baist, 296). "Au roi d'Escavalon" (444; Potvin, 1657). The Montpellier MS reads "De Canelon," and the prose of 1530 "D'Escanalon." Brugger has another explanation, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XLVI, 412; XXVIII, 47, n. 86. On Avalon see Bruce, *Evol.*, I, 81.

² See above, p. 90.

³ For the evidence see Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perc.*, I, 71-73; Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI, 126; Griffith, *Sir Perc.*, p. 27; and *Modern Philology*, XVI, 559, n. 2. On Kyôt see also Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX, 126. Singer's article is reviewed by Bötticher, *Jahresbericht*, XXXVIII (1916), VII-48; Scholte, *Neophilologus*, V (1920), 115; Campion, *ibid.*, VII (1922), 316.

⁴ Verse 1038, cf. 1071.

⁵ Verse 1163.

⁶ Que ele et toute sa maisnee
Fuscent en mer morte et noie. vs. 1221.

⁷ See *Modern Philology*, XVIII, 666; and cf. the Japanese tale of Urashima who spent 400 years with a sea king's daughter in Evergreen Land, and was thought to have been drowned, in Chamberlain, *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (1880), pp. 33-36.

⁸ He is evidently the Welsh "fabulator" Bledhericus, named by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Cambriae*, cap. 17. Some references on Bleheris are as follows (I have starred some important ones): *G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII (1879), 425; XVIII, 322; Rhys, *Art. Leg.*, p. 373; Foerster, *Erech*, xxiv; Golther, *Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XII, 354; Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XIII, 84-86; Lot, *Romania*, XXV, 23; XXVIII, 336; *Étude sur Lancelot* (1918), p. 203; Bédier, *Tristan*, II, 96-98; J. L. Weston, **Romania*, XXXIII (1904), 333; *XXXIV, 101-5; *Legend of Sir P.*, I, 288 f., II, 251 f.; *Quest* (1913), p. 110; *From Ritual* (1920), pp. 181-91; Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XX (1898), 137; XXXI, 150; XXXVI, 69; XXXVII, 167; XLIV, 16; Owen, *Revue Celtique*, XXXII (1911), 5-17; Gruffydd, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, 180-83; Loth, *Contributions* (1912), pp. 33-37; *Mabinogion*, I (1913), 72-75; Jones, *Transactions Cymmrodorion* (1913-14), p. 289;

think rest to a great extent upon a lost Gawain-book.¹ The "Elucidation" evidently served as an introduction to this Gawain-book.²

The "Elucidation" is less rationalized than *C*. It declares, for example, that the Fisher King could change semblance, which makes him resemble Manannán the well-known sea king of Irish mythology. In this fairy atmosphere, and in several details, notably those connected with the grail, it agrees³ against *C* with Wauchier (and pseudo-Wauchier).

XXVI

The "Elucidation" associates cups of plenty with the Grail

We must examine the "Elucidation" a little more closely. The title "Elucidation de l'hystoire du Graal," which is given to this fragment in the prose version printed at Paris in 1530, shows that somebody understood that the "Elucidation" helped to explain the grail story.⁴ Since it does not particularly explain the grail stories as they stand in the Mons MS, it seems possible that this title may be traditional, and may go back to a time when the grail story was more obviously a cup-of-plenty story and when anybody could see that the golden cups of the damsels of the *puis*⁵ resembled the grail.

Singer, *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CLXXX (1916), 126; Watkin, *Transactions Cymmrodon* (1919-20), p. 7; Fischer, *Anglia Beiblatt*, XXXII (1922), 113; Camplon, *Neophilologus*, VII (1922), 316. Since both pseudo-Wauchier, and Wauchier, in telling Gawain incidents of a similar character, refer to Bleheris as authority, I see no use in setting up a pseudo-Wauchier. This is the view of Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Percival*, I, 235; and of Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI², 141. For a contrary opinion see Lot, *Étude sur Lancelot*, p. 178, and the references he gives; also Bruce, *Evol.* I, 285-86.

¹ See Brugger, *Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XLIV² (1917), 16: "Die grosse Gauvainkomplation des Blehri . . . muss in den Jahren 1152-54 entstanden sein, wie ich in dieser *Zs.* 31², 150, bewiesen habe." These are the latest dates. See now Brugger, *Ztschr. f. Franz. Spr.*, XLVII (1924), 162-85.

² Brugger thinks (*Ztsch. f. franz. Sp.*, XXXI², 149) to a somewhat later redaction of the Gawain-book from that used by Wauchier. The relation of this Gawain-book to *z* (the source of *C* and of Kyôt-Wolfram) is not clear. Probably, as Brugger thinks (*ibid.*, XXXI², 142; XLIV², 168), they were not identical. I am glad to find that in many points I agree with Brugger. Where we agree there is good hope that future scholarship will prove that we are right.

³ Nutt thought that the "Elucidation" embodied genuine tradition, *Legend of the H.G.* (1888), p. 8. Cf. Miss Weston, *Leg. of Sir Perc.*, I, 276; *From Ritual*, p. 162.

⁴ The author of the prose of 1530 did not invent the title "Elucidation." He was puzzled by the story, and his first remark is: "Le conte semble mieulx chose de fairie qu'altre riens: et au vray dire c'estoit bien la greigneur merveille qu'on pourroit ouyr deviser." Evidently he copied the title "Elucidation" from "l'ancien livre faict en ryme et langage non usité," which he modernized. These quotations are from a rotograph belonging to the Modern Language Association, and deposited at the Library of Congress.

⁵ *Puis* probably means *std* (fairy mound). The German translation, made about 1331-36, gives "Berge," "Gebirge," and the French prose of 1530 renders it "caves." See Potvin, p. 1, n. 5: "Ces pucelles se tenoient en caves que l'ancienne hystoire appelle autrement puy qui estoient en celle forestz entaillées par ouvrage merveilleux."

Puis might also mean "spring," as I translated it in *Kittredge Annis. Papers* (1913), p. 249.

Because of its importance I will quote and translate the more significant passages of the "Elucidation":¹

After referring to Blihis as an authority,² we are told that the rich country of Logres fell in ruin,

The land was dead and desert.³
So that they lost the voices of the *puis*,
And the maidens who were in them.

At first no traveler needed to go farther than to one of these *puis* to secure food:

For forthwith there issued, this is my belief,⁴
Out of the *puis* a maiden;
They could not ask a prettier;
She carried in her hand a gold cup,
With roasts, pasties, and bread;
Another maiden brought
A white napkin and a dish
Of gold and silver, in which was
The food that he had asked for
Who had come there for it;
At the *pui* he was very well received;
And if this food did not please him,
She brought him many other (kinds)
Made altogether to their wish.

¹Quoted from Potvin, *Perceval*, verses 1-484, Mons MS. The corresponding prose of the 1530 edition is printed in Potvin, *Bibliographie de Chrestien*, pp. 171-78; a German version is in the *Parsifal* of Wisse and Colin, ed. Schorbach, pp. lvii-lxx. The French prose and the German version go back to MSS different from Mons.

² Car, se maistre Blihis ne ment,
Nus ne doit dire le secré. 12

³ La tiere fu morte et deserte,
Si que pou ne valu II nois;
Qu'il pierdirent des puis les vois
Et les puceles k'ens estoient. 30

⁴ Car luès issoit, ce m'est avis,
Fors del puis, une damosele;
Il ne demandassent plus belle;
Coupe d'or portoit en sa main,
Avoec lardés, pastés et pain;
Raportoit une autre pucele
Touaille blanke et escuiele 44
D'or et d'argent, en col estoit

Li més ke cil requis avoit
Qui pour les més estoit venus;
Au pui moult ert biel receus;
Et, se cil més ne li plaisoit, 55
Plusours autres li aportoît

Fais trestout à lor volenté.
A grant jole et à grant plenté.
Les puceles communamment
Servoient biel et liement 60
Tous ceus qui les chemins erroient
Et por mangier as puis venoient.
Rois Amangons s'enfraint premiers. ...

With great joy and great plenty
 The maidens generally
 Served well and gladly
 All those who wandered along the roads
 And came for food to the *puis*.
 King Amangons broke (this custom) first. . . .

He did violence to one of the maidens, and took away her cup of gold, and carried it off with him.¹ Then he caused himself to be served out of it. Other warriors followed his bad example, and no maidens or food were found any more at the *puis*. The realm turned to waste, the trees lost their leaves,

The meadows and the flowers dried up,²
 And the streams shrunk away,
 Then no one could ever find
 The Court of the Rich Fisher
 Who made splendid the country.

Afterward, at the time of King Arthur, the knights of the Table Round came and wished to recover the *puis*,

And to guard valiantly³
 The maidens that would issue from them
 And the cups which they would bring;
 And to destroy the lineage
 Of those who did them harm.

They overthrew several knights whom they found:

The first knight whom they conquered⁴
 Had for his name Blihos Bliheris,
 And my lord Gawain conquered him
 By the great courage of which he was full.
 He sent him to render himself to King Arthur. . . .

¹ Cf. how King Ailill violated a fairy maid, Ane, at her *sid*, and the vengeance taken by the fairies: "Battle of Mag Mucrimne," *Revue Celtique*, XIII (1892), 435.

² Li pré et les flor essecierent
 Et les algues apeticierent,
 Ne on ne peut puis trover jor
 Le cort au rice pescheour
 Qui resplendissoit le pals. 100

³ A garder efforclement
 Les puceles k'en isteroient
 Et les coupes qu'aporteroient
 Et à destruire le lingnage
 De çaus ki lor fissent damage. 126

⁴ Li premiers chevaliers conquis
 Ot à nom Blihos Bliheris;
 Sel conquist mesire Gauwains,
 Par grant proece dont ert plains;
 Au roi Artu l'envoia rendre. . . 135

At the court Blihis was not known, but he

Knew such very good stories¹
That no one could grow weary
Listening to his words.

He declared to the knights of Arthur that they would have to search
by forest and by field,

Until that God shall grant them to find²
The court from which the joy shall come
Of which this land shall be resplendent again.

Arthur's knights set about the quest at once:

Then they will search with great vigor³
For the court of the Rich Fisher
Who knew much of necromancy,
So that he would change his semblance a hundred times;
No one could recognize him
When he had shifted his shape to another (?)
My lord Gawain found him
In the time that Arthur reigned,
And was at the Court (of the Rich Fisher) in truth;
Further on ye shall be told about it.

After this the "Elucidation" has been rather crudely altered to make
it serve as an introduction to a Perceval poem (probably to C). It
unexpectedly declares that Perceval the Welshman found the grail.

A comparison of the various Irish stories that we have studied
enables us to explain the "Elucidation" somewhat as follows. King
Amangons, who stole the golden cup from one of the *fées* of the *puis*
and encouraged his warriors to do the like, is in origin a Fomorian.

¹ Mais si tres bons contes savoit 170
Que nus ne se péust lasser
De ses paroles escouter.

² Tant ke Dex lor donra trover 206
La court dont la jole venra
Dont cis pals resplendira.

³ Puis cerkeront par grant vigor 220
Le court au rice pescéour
Qui moult savoit de ningremance
Qu'il muast .c. fois sa samblance;
Nus ne kerroit en nule guise,
Li autres en autre devise.

Meistre Gauwains le trova 225
En icel tans k'Artus regna,
Et fu à la court, par vreté;
Qa avant vos ert bien conté.

King Clamadex and his seneschal, Anguinguerrons, in *C* were besieging the castle of Blanchefleur; the giant Gollerotherame in *Sp* was attacking Lufamour's fortress; all these and the Red Knight are corresponding figures, and are all enemies to the fairy folk and to King Arthur. The attack of these evil monsters (Fomorians) upon the fairies (Tuatha Dé Danann), who were the gods of plenty and increase, brought about the Waste Land (The Enchantment of Britain).¹ The Rich Fisher is the king of the fairies of the *puis*. His "grail" is simply a more splendid golden cup. The fairies of the *std* and those of Underwaveland were confused. In another version the Rich Fisher may have lived like Manannán, Lug,² and Nuadu in the sea, and thus have acquired the name "Fisher King."

It is a striking confirmation of our argument to find, as we do in the "Elucidation," a French author connecting fairy cups of plenty with the Rich Fisher, King Arthur, and the grail. This is exactly what we should expect if the grail be indeed a glorified cup of plenty. It is an awkward fact for an advocate of an exclusively Christian origin of the grail to explain.

A parallel to the story of the "Elucidation" is found in a folk tale recorded by Gervasius of Tilbury about 1211, and located by him in Gloucestershire.³ Gervasius' story is briefly as follows:

In a forest of Gloucestershire is a glade in the midst of which stands a hillock rising to the height of a man. Tired knights and hunters were wont to get relief here. This had to be done singly and alone. The adventurous man would then say "I thirst." Whereupon a cupbearer, in splendid attire, with a glad countenance (*celebri cultu, vultu hilari*) would appear and present him with a large drinking horn, adorned with gold and gems, and containing a liquor of some unknown but most delicious flavor. When he had drunk this, all heat and weariness fled from his body, and the cupbearer presented him with a towel to wipe his mouth (*mantile ad ora siccanda*) and then, having done this, disappeared. One day an evil knight stole the horn and brought it to the Earl of Gloucester, who presented it to King Henry I.

¹ It is not in *Sp* alone that King Arthur is weak, or under enchantment, and the grail has been carried off. In *Perlesvaus* are traces of the same thing: these were probably not understood even by the composer of the romance. See Potvin's edition, I, 4; "Li rois del Chastel Mortel" has carried off the grail, *ibid.*, 137, 176.

² Lug's palace was under Loch Currib (J. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, p. 51): "And the site of his house is in the west of the lake; and the lake came over it afterwards." The usual rationalization! Vendryes (*Revue Celtique*, XXXIX [1922], 384) adopts the idea that Nuadu (Nodons) hooking a salmon is the origin of the Fisher King.

³ *Otia Imperialia*, Decis. III, cap. 60, ed. Liebrecht (1856), p. 28.

Not only is the central incident of this story like that of the "Elucidation," but several resemblances in detail attract attention. Most of these may be dismissed at once (e.g., splendid appearance of the cupbearer) as not proving any close connection, because fairies are wont to have beautiful attire. The mention of a napkin in both stories may imply a closer connection. I do not recall another fairy story with this incident.

Can it be that the Gloucestershire story is based entirely on the "Elucidation," which we could imagine got told in England and became popular there? Nobody who considers how many stories of this type are current in Great Britain and other northern countries will entertain this view.¹ Gervasius' story is truly popular in origin.

Could it be that Gervasius' story, although the kernel of it is evidently popular,² has been influenced by our text of the "Elucidation"? This view, although theoretically possible, will not, I think, be seriously urged by anybody. The MSS of Chrétien and his continuators were expensive and were in the hands of lords and ladies. It is most improbable that our text of the "Elucidation" could have reached England and influenced popular tradition there before the time of Gervasius.

It is, however, possible and indeed probable that the Gawain-book, to which the "Elucidation" was evidently an introduction,³ was known in England, because a number of English Gawain poems, "The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne," "The Weddyng of Syr Gawayne," "The Awntyrs of Arthur," "Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyghte," are associated with this Gawain-book of Bleheris.⁴ It is difficult to believe, however, that any earlier form of the "Elucidation," such as may have existed prefixed to the lost Gawain-book, has influenced the story told by Gervasius.

¹ Many of these are cited by Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 135-60. Liebrecht, *loc. cit.*, thinks that a story told by William of Newburgh, *Chronica Rerum Anglic.*, lib. 1, cap. 28 (written about 1210), is identical with that in Gervasius because it likewise tells of a cup given to King Henry I. But Henry might have had more than one fairy cup, and William of Newburgh's story is located in Yorkshire, and is of a more common type: A peasant late at night sees the door of a fairy knoll open, and steals a cup from the banquet within.

² J. Nicholson, *Folk-Lore of East Yorkshire* (1890), p. 83, relates a story like that of William of Newburgh, and says that it is current near Bridlington in Yorkshire, and is located at a large mound called "Willey How." The name of the king who received the cup is not mentioned.

³ See above, p. 124.

⁴ See Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 283.

Both of these hypotheses, which we are inclined to reject, presuppose that the "Elucidation" resembled the living folk tale so much that it easily combined with it. They imply that the "Elucidation" was in origin a fairy tale which has been worked over to adapt it to a chivalric romance.

One might turn the hypothesis round and suppose that the "Elucidation" is based upon an earlier version of the folk tale recorded by Gervasius. This suggestion is made by Hartland: The "Elucidation" "seems to be an attempt to fit in a well-known folk tale with the Rich Fisher (or Fisher King) motif in order to account for the disaster that fell on the land."¹ But this borrowing must have taken place before Chrétien's time. Nobody would take the trouble to extract the "Elucidation" as it stands from a folk tale and prefix it to the various pieces that exist in the Mons MS for the purpose of explaining them, because it explains them very poorly. The "Elucidation" must have been attached to the lost Gawain-book, in which we must suppose that the grail was clearly a cup of plenty, so that anybody could see that it was the same sort of thing as the golden cups (grails) that belonged to the damsels of the *puis*, and consequently could see how the "Elucidation" explained the grail romance. The "Elucidation" proves that somebody at a very early time felt that the grail was a fairy cup. No theory of a primarily Christian origin for the grail will explain this fact.

XXVII

Conclusion

The argument of the preceding pages is concerned in part with the comparative study of popular tales. Some people dislike arguments of this character.² For persons of this mathematical turn of mind

¹ Hartland, *Y Cymmrodor*, XXXI (1921), 58.

² The first volume of J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, did not reach me till after the completion of these pages, and I have been able to insert few references to it. The second volume I have not seen. The exact facts, citations, and notes of this first volume make it a useful introduction to the subject, but Bruce's opinions on the origin of the legend have no value, as I think. Like some others who are unacquainted with the language, Bruce felt a prejudice against an Irish source for the grail. His book should be consulted by those who wish to see what can be urged against the present argument. In this connection I notice an error made by Bruce: On page 274 he says, "The sole authority on which this grouping of talismans rests is the seventeenth century Keating," and refers to me in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 236. Whoever will turn to page 236 will find that my authority was not only Keating, but the much older *CMT*. Ample proof exists that various talismans were grouped in the Old Irish period.

the most tangible proof that our argument can bring is that in the oldest grail stories occur three key-words that have been proved to be of Welsh origin: the grail-hero's sword Escalibor = (Welsh) *Calet-vwlch* = (Irish) *Calad-colc*; the grail-hero's horse Gringalet = (Welsh) *Keincaled*; the grail-king Brons = (Welsh) *Bran* = (Irish) *Brion*.

Other things point the same way. For example, the grail spear is the slender throwing-javelin of the Irish, and not a great thrusting-spear with its huge kettledrum-like handle which was the weapon of chivalry; the grail castle, as Nitze shows,¹ was built like an Irish house; the grail itself was, in *C*, borne by a lovely maid like the *fée* in Irish *imrama*; Wauchier and *C*, the two oldest accounts, agree in mentioning the Fisher King (28065; Baist 3457), the brilliancy of the grail (28063; B. 3188), the white glitter of the bleeding lance (Potvin, III, p. 370, vs. 73; B. 3154), and in general give a heathen tone to the grail, which is first thoroughly Christianized in the later *Joseph* (by Robert de Boron).

These are facts over which the theory of a purely Christian origin for the grail legend stumbles badly. They are easily explained by our fusion theory, which admits that all extant romances, even Chrétien's *C*, have been touched by ecclesiasticism, but supposes that the underlying basis of the story sprang from Welsh and Irish fairy lore.

The pith of the argument of the preceding pages is as follows: It has been demonstrated that the English *Sir Perceval* is essentially the story of a fairy cup of plenty, and retains a great deal of the fairy machinery. The cup in it is a cruder form of the grail. This romance is inextricably connected with the grail complex. It represents to a great degree the source of the first part of Chrétien's *Conte du Graal*. It is impossible to imagine how a fairy cup of plenty became attached to the oldest form of the grail story, unless the latter was at one time recognized to be itself a cup-of-plenty story.

Should a resolute defender of the theory that the grail is primarily of ecclesiastical origin attempt to elude this argument by declaring that the connection which we have demonstrated may be fortuitous, an answer is ready. The "Elucidation," an entirely separate cup-of-plenty story, is likewise firmly attached to the oldest forms of the

¹ *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, I, 19-51.

grail romance. Its connection is quite independent of that of *Sir Perceval*. No one, I suppose, would maintain that two different fairy-cup stories got attached to the grail legend by mere accident.

Without doubt those who do not agree to the argument of these pages will urge in refutation of it that both *Sp* (ca. 1350), and *El* (the "Elucidation"), at least in their present form, are later than *C* (ca. 1175). They will declare that in spite of internal evidence *Sp* and *El* must derive from *C*. Of course if MS evidence proved that *Sp* was older than *C*, no need would have arisen for these hundred pages of argument. No serious scholar would ever have denied that the grail was primarily of fairy origin. The problem is not so simple as that. We must not, however, allow the late date of our redaction of *Sp* to overturn all internal evidence.

It is not a priori improbable that a romance which exists only in a later version like *Sp* may preserve an earlier form of the story. Whether the best form of a tale is found in an early or a late MS is altogether a matter of chance. One has only to examine the history of other metrical romances to find cases, like that of "Guy and Colebrande," where the Percy Folio (ca. 1650) preserves in some respects a better form of the island-combat story than the Auchinleck MS (ca. 1325) although it is more than 300 years later.¹ To abuse *Sp* as a late and wretched affair is not to the point. We are not declaring that *Sp* is an older or finer romance than *C*, but simply that it better presents the original *données* of the story.

The evidence of *El* cannot be explained away even if we were to grant, which it is not necessary to do, that it had no connection with any grail romance until after *C* was written. Even if we were to put *El* down to the latest possible time (about 1250 at the latest) it would still show that somebody at that early time thought that the grail was a cup of plenty which could be explained by the cups in *El*. That this points the same way as the independent evidence of *Sp* is the significant matter. Proof that the grail was primarily of Celtic origin is convincing.²

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¹ See Koelbing, *Germania*. N.R., XXII (1889), 193.

² My thanks are due to Professors Jenkins and Nitze, and especially to Professor G. L. Kittredge for generous assistance.

TWO STUDIES IN EPIC THEORY

I. VERISIMILITUDE IN THE EPIC

Verisimilitude is a term with sufficiently definite connotation in present-day critical parlance to convey a fairly concise idea to the mind when one finds it employed regarding some novel or play. We speak of the verisimilitude of the characters, the verisimilitude of the plot, etc., meaning merely that the characters or the events bear "a resemblance to the true" and are "true to life." However, the word employed during the Renaissance and the classical period has a far more complex meaning and involves many matters which today are completely disregarded. In the first place, in addition to the meaning of "resemblance to the true" already mentioned, the word was used in the sense of "probability," and we find along with the idea of the "probable," the question of the "marvelous" and of decorum linked inextricably with the discussion of verisimilitude. We have the statement of Minturno, for instance,¹ that "the stable and basic foundation of decorum is the necessary and the 'verisimile'"; and that of Scudéry that, according to the rules which we have from the ancients, "every epic poem is founded on two principles: verisimilitude and the marvelous,"² and one finds the terms "marvelous" and "verisimilar" frequently linked by different writers; and with the marvelous troops that endless body of opinion on the employment of pagan and Christian deities. The word is joined also with the question of the employment of historical fact, which borders on the much-discussed problem of the province of historian and poet. Then, too, one finds the debate touching upon the boundaries of the aesthetic question of the pleasurable aim of poetry, for it is at once evident that no work of art can touch us or please us if it does not have the appearance of truth. There is likewise the philosophical aspect of the word where one finds that the theory of verisimilitude differs from the radical skepticism of Pyrrhon, and

¹ *Arte poetica*, p. 48.

² *Advertisement, Autres Œuvres de M. de Scudéry*, Paris, 1637.

finds Epicurus first formulating propositions from which he deduced the fact that the senses are the only criterion of the true and the false—a matter which it is not my intention to treat here, as I purpose to deal only with the literary connotation of the word. Furthermore, as much has already been said concerning the employment of verisimilitude in tragedy, it is my plan to limit this article to the endeavor to discover what the critical writers in sixteenth-century Italy and France and seventeenth-century France understood when they employed it in reference to the epic. Aristotle himself seems to have differentiated between the employment of the “verisimile” in the epic and in tragedy, for it will be remembered that he states that many events which would appear ludicrous on the stage are permissible in the epic, where the illusion would not be destroyed.

There are accordingly several matters which I intend to treat. It may not be amiss to consider for a moment what Aristotle and Horace had to say regarding this question, for it must be evident to anyone that it was their dictum which influenced to a large extent discussion in the Renaissance and later. I then purpose to show the various discussions of verisimilitude and its implication, then it is my plan to treat in turn the different questions which are intimately connected with the main controversy around verisimilitude, i.e., decorum, the marvelous, and the use of true names, each a separate matter, although, as we have just seen, not so remote, after all, from the principal discussion. Horace says: “Let whatever is imagined for the sake of entertainment have as much likeness to truth as possible; let not your play demand belief for whatever absurdities it is inclined to exhibit nor take out of the witch’s belly a living child that she had dined upon,”¹ and again² he observes that the poet “forms his fictions in such a manner and so intermingles the false with the true that the middle is not inconsistent with the beginning, nor the end with the middle.”

Aristotle goes into the question at greater length:³

From what we have said it will be seen that the poet’s function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but a kind of thing that might happen, i.e., what is possible as being probable or necessary. The distinction between historian and poet consists really in this, that the one describes

¹ *Ars poetica*, pp. 338 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 150–52.

³ I am employing Professor Bywater’s translation of the *Poetica*.

the thing that has been and the other the kind of thing that might be. . . . A likely impossibility is always preferable to an unconvincing possibility. The story should never be made up of improbable incidents. If, however, such incidents are unavoidable they should be outside the piece. The poet being an imitator just like the painter or other maker of likenesses, he must necessarily in all instances represent things in one or other of three aspects—either as they were or are, or as they are said to be or thought to be or to have been, or as they ought to be. Any impossibilities there may be in the poet's description of things are faults. But from another point of view they are justifiable, if they serve the end of poetry itself, or if they make the effect of some portion of the work more astounding. . . . If, however, the poetic end might have been as well or better attained without sacrifice of technical correctness in such matters, the impossibility is not to be justified, since the description should be, if it can, entirely free from error. . . . Speaking generally, one has to justify the impossible by reference to the requirements of poetry, or to the better, or to opinion. The improbable one has to justify either by showing it to be in accordance with opinion, or by urging that at times it is not improbable; for there is a probability of things happening also against probability.

There is another form of the impossible which, according to Aristotle, may be admitted into poetry; these are stories of the gods, of which it is enough to say that whether true or false, above or below reality, "yet so runs the tale." The whole tenor and purpose of the *Poetics* makes it clear that Aristotle does not consider poetry to be a mere reproduction of fact, a picture of life with all its trivialities. The world of the possible which poetry creates is more intelligible than the world of experience. Poetic truth passes the bounds of reality, but it does not wantonly violate the laws which make the real world rational. Poetry, Aristotle means to say—as Professor Butcher points out—is not concerned with fact but with what transcends fact; it represents things which are not and never can be in actual experience. It is the prerogative of the poet "to tell lies skilfully." "The fiction here intended is not simply the fiction which is blended with the fact in every poetic narrative of real events. The reference here is rather to those tales of a strange and marvelous character which are admitted into the epic more fully than into dramatic poetry."¹ The justification for the introduction of such stories is for Aristotle the heightened wonder. The twice-cited instance of the pursuit of Hector in the *Iliad* illustrates the general conditions under

¹ S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London, 1895, p. 160.

which he would allow the license. If represented on the stage the incident would appear highly improbable and even ludicrous. The scene enacted before the eyes of the beholder would destroy the poetic illusion, whereas in epic narrative the effect produced would be powerfully imaginative. But even as an epic incident it is only justified if the effect is impressive, and if a like effect could not have been produced by other means.

The first mention of the word "verisimilitude" which I have been able to discover in sixteenth-century criticism, occurs in the *Poetica* of Daniello, in 1536,¹ and although there is no attempt at definition, elsewhere² he cautions the poet to write "al vero somigliante," from which one would judge that for him verisimilitude was a "resemblance to the true"—the generally accepted meaning of the word during the sixteenth century as well as later.

Robortelli contends that the poet deals with things as they ought to be, but he can either appropriate actual fact, or he can invent his material. He may narrate things not as they really happened, but as they ought to happen. For example, Xenophon, in describing Cyrus, does not depict him as he really was, but as the best king that could be. Is it possible and verisimilar, continues Robortelli, that the gods should eat ambrosia and drink nectar, as Homer describes, and that Cerberus should have several heads, as we learn in Vergil? The answer is that poets can invent in two ways, that is, either in accordance with nature or by transcending nature. In the first case, things must be in keeping with the laws of probability or necessity; in the second, the poet should bear in mind the inference that unknown things are subject to the same laws as the things we know. The poets accept the existence of the gods from the common notion of men, and then treat all that relates to those deities from this point of view.

Giraldi Cinthio urges that the poet take the greatest care that the actions which he chooses for the subject and for the foundation of the whole fabric of his work carry with them so much verisimilitude that they be credible, and that one part so depend upon the other that either by necessity or verisimilitude one action develops from the other; the poet should not do as Trissino has done in the story of "Faulo and Ligridonia" which is introduced in his *Italia liberata*

¹ P. 78.² P. 42.

beyond all necessity and dependence.¹ As regards this "verisimile," continues Giraldi, it must be recognized that not only that which happened "verisimilmente" can be regarded as "verisimile," but also that which from custom has come to be accepted by poets as "verisimile." This is what Aristotle meant when he said that it was not beyond probability that many improbable things might happen, but Giraldi also adds that unless the reader believes what he reads, his spirit cannot be moved by the poem, a statement which Boileau reiterates in his famous line:

L'esprit n'est point ému de ce qu'il ne croit pas.²

Minturno is more specific. The narration, he says, will be verisimilar if those things which are narrated correspond to the persons, the times, the places, and causes; if things seem to be related as if they had happened in a possible manner or "simile al vero."³

Pigna, disagreeing with Robortelli and Giraldi that custom is the arbiter of the matter, maintains that it is not according to verisimilitude that the gods be subjected to passions like men, and only because custom has introduced this, to say that it is "verisimile" that the gods laugh and weep and are perturbed. Pigna is thus, in a way, a forerunner in the question of the inclusion of the deities in the poem.

Lionardi says that the epic imitates the too true, i.e., what has actually happened, and the "verisimile" together, and that the latter colors and enriches the former. Castelvetro does not group the two elements. Truth, he says, was naturally before verisimilitude because verisimilitude depends on truth. Verisimilitude, for Castelvetro, is a matter of great importance. One of the greatest faults in composing the fable, he states, is to err as regards verisimilitude, although he considers it a much greater sin to contradict history than to sin against verisimilitude.⁴ The poet ought to be on his guard against such errors as those committed by Ariosto in the question of religion when he caused Fiordispina, a Mohammedan, to tell a Christian that she had been transformed into a Fate. Castelvetro contends that possible things do not ever occupy all the plot of the epic. In

¹ G. B. Giraldi Cinthio, *Discorsi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 54.

² *Art poétique*, III, 50.

³ *Arte poetica*, p. 22.

⁴ *La poetica d' Aristotele, vulgarizzata et sposta*, Vienna, 1570, p. 188.

the heroic poem are portrayed not only those events which may possibly happen but those which have actually occurred, or, in other words, things which poetry has in common with the truths of history. Hence it is, he continues, that the plot of every epic poem should be partly composed of events which may be called historical, although Aristotle did not hold this view. Castelvetro does not believe that incredible things can cause the hearer to marvel, for the mere fact that they cannot be believed will fail to awaken any sense of wonder.

Torquato Tasso makes the statement¹ that imitation cannot be separated from the "verisimile" because the word signifies as much "to imitate" as "to make similar," and continues saying that verisimilitude is not one of those conditions required in poetry to increase its beauty, but is an intrinsic part of its essence, and the most important element. Both the marvelous and the "verisimile" must exist together in a perfect effect, and, difficult as the task may seem, they must be reconciled. Tasso points out that probability and verisimilitude are, after all, relative terms, inasmuch as that which is credible and verisimilar to the Christian would not be necessarily verisimilar to the pagan.

Among sixteenth-century Italian critics we find, then, a certain diversity of opinion. Custom and opinion is to be the criterion of judgment of the employment of verisimilitude for Robortelli and Giraldi, whereas Pigna holds the contrary view. For Lionardi the imitation of historical truth and verisimilitude in the epic is of equal importance, but for Castelvetro the observance of verisimilitude is subordinate to that of historical truth. Tasso takes exception to this view, for he contends that verisimilitude is an intrinsic element in the epic that cannot be disregarded, although there may be a certain relativity in its employment.

Ronsard, likewise differing from Castelvetro, believes that the poet should not follow truth as a historian does. Ronsard says: "Il [i.e., the poet] a pour maxime très nécessaire en son art de ne suivre jamais pas à pas la vérité, mais la vray-semblance, et le possible; et sur le possible, et sur ce qui se peut faire, il bastit son ouvrage, laissant la véritable narration aux Historiographes,"²

¹ *Discorsi dell'arte poetica*, p. 201. "Perocchè tanto significa imitare, quanto far simile"

² Second Preface to *Franciade*. *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1887-93, III, 524.

and later, he says: "J'ay basti ma Franciade, sans me soucier si cela est vray ou non, ou si nos Roys sont Troyens ou Germains, Scythes ou Arabes; si Francus est venu en France ou non, car il y pouvoit venir, me servant du possible, et non de la verité."

Already in the sixteenth century, then, we find Ronsard offering the palm to the poet who would substitute most frequently fiction for truth, an idea which is echoed by Vauquelin:

Ainsi dedans les vers le faux entrelassé
Avec le vray-semblant d'un conte du passé,
Nous emeut, nous chatouille, et nous poind davantage
Que l'estude qu'on met à polir son ouvrage,
Sans faire une meslange, une varieté,
Qui ne suit, mensongere, en rien la verité. [ii, 273.]

Lemoyne agrees with Ronsard: "The more one invents outside of history, the more a poet one is."¹

On the other hand, Scudéry holds the opposite view; he contends that the subject of the epic poem ought to be more true than invented. Castelvetro, "whose opinions are not all equally well founded," says Scudéry, wishes to persuade us that the subject of the heroic poem must be absolutely fabulous, but if that were the case, he continues, the *Iliad* would be defective and the *Aeneid* would be worthless, for the siege of Troy is true and Aeneas came to Italy according to the usual belief of authors. Scudéry, curiously enough, is misquoting Castelvetro when he says that he wishes us to believe that the epic must be fabulous, for it has already been shown that Castelvetro contended that the plot of every epic poem should be composed of events which may be called historical. Scudéry believes, then, that the subject of the heroic poem ought to be true rather than invented, because the epic poet must above all respect verisimilitude, for it is unquestionably an assured fact that the actions which are verisimilar, more especially when they have some grain of truth among their lies, are more suitable to move one to compassion than those where the lie is evident to anyone.

Saint-Amant explains² that he has introduced into his poem persons of whom sacred history does not speak. Even though all

¹ Preface to *Saint-Louis*.

² Preface to *Moïse Sauvé*.

things in the Bible are equally true, they are not all of equal importance, and those things which are merely a matter of history can sometimes be manipulated at the poet's fancy, for "a lie is not a lie when one does not wish to make it pass as truth." Scudéry says that the argument should be taken from Christian history. Following the ideas already expressed by Pigna and contending that the subject of the epic poem ought not to be taken from the stories of paganism—for all these imaginary gods destroy absolutely the epic in destroying the verisimilitude which is the very foundation of the poem—Scudéry states that the argument should be taken from Christian history, but not from sacred history ("histoire sainte"), for one cannot, without profanation, alter the truth of it, and without invention which is the poet's chief asset, it is almost impossible for the epic to have all its beauty.

In the *Avis au lecteur* of the *Lutrin*, Boileau says: "Je ne ferai point ici comme l'Arioste qui, quelquefois sur le point de débiter la fable du monde la plus absurde, la garantit vraie d'une vérité reconnue, et l'appuie même de l'autorité de l'Archevêque Turpin. Pour moi, je déclare franchement que tout le Poème du Lutrin n'est qu'une pure fiction." Boileau, while recognizing the fact that Tasso was a great genius, reproaches him for the fact that he employed the "merveilleux chrétien" and for his disdain for verisimilitude.

On this point Desmarets de Saint Sorlin¹ says:

En ce point sont d'accord les critiques divers,
Que le seul vray-semblable est l'appuy des beaux vers.
D'Homère tous les chants ne sont que des mensonges;
Et semblent un ramas de ridicules songes.
Car il ne suffit pas, pour fonder leur beauté,
Que Troye et son malheur soient une vérité.
Il ne peut inventer des sujets vray-semblables,
Puis que nuls de ses Dieux ne sont Dieux veritables.

But he concludes in complete accord with Scudéry's contention that truth is the basic element of the heroic poem:

Mais nostre seule loy donne en sa verité
Un fond sur qui l'on feint avec autorité;
Le vray-semblable y prend sa force toute entiere,
De la verité seule empruntant sa lumiere,

¹ *La Defense du Poème Heroïque*, Paris, 1674.

and later on in the same work he states that there can be no heroic poetry if the fictions are not founded on verisimilitude, "qui a son fonds unique sur la verité des choses surnaturelles que nous croyons." It will be remembered that Boileau had said:

Rien n'est beau que le vrai.

Le Bossu claims that truth and verisimilitude exist together. Truth, he says,¹ and verisimilitude can be found together, since a thing which is true can appear such. But sometimes truth is without verisimilitude, as in some miraculous and extraordinary actions. Sometimes, also, he adds, verisimilitude is without truth, as in the ordinary fictions of the poets.

It is interesting to note that Charles Perrault makes the identical statement,² using the same words: "Having established the truth of this story, it would seem useless to prove the verisimilitude of it, as there are verisimilar things which are not true, and there are also true things which are not verisimilar."

Le Bossu discusses verisimilitude according to theology, to morality, to nature, to reason, to experience, and to opinion, concluding, after many pages of wordiness that the principal kind of verisimilitude is the last, i.e., according to common opinion. In other words, a thing is verisimilar when it seems true. What Homer and Vergil have written will be true to the ordinary reader, although savants will read conflicting statements in history. Nevertheless, these poets, while neglecting history, have, by doing so, made their plots more persuasive. At the same time, the loftiness of the subject has obliged the poets to speak in a manner above the average, and they incur the risk, by employing the divine and the miraculous, of ruining the verisimilitude, without which an action is less capable of persuasion. There is a difference between fiction and falsity, between being verisimilar and not verisimilar. The poet is told to feign, but he is not ordered to lie.

Of all the writers of seventeenth-century France whom we have discussed there seems to be only one who does not stress the importance of verisimilitude. We find Jacquelin in the Preface to *Hélie* (1661) saying: "Je ne me suis gueres attaché aux embellissemens

¹ *Traité du Poème Epique*, Paris, 1675, p. 327.

² *Epistre de Saint Paulin*, Paris, 1686.

ordinaires de la Poesie, comme sont les figures, les descriptions, les vray-semblances, les comparaisons et tous les autres qui se trouvent dans les pieces de cette sorte," but he is the exception.

Another element involved is that of decorum. As Professor Spingarn has already pointed out,¹ the Renaissance conception of decorum is derived from the passage in the fifteenth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics* in which it is stated that the characters should be drawn with propriety, that is, in keeping with the type to which they belong. This gave rise to a curious conception of decorum in which every old man should have such and such characteristics, every young man others, and every Parisian, every Venetian, etc., should be immediately recognizable. This difference in character, linked with distinction in rank, found its authority likewise in Horace's

Aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores. [154.]

Professor Spingarn sees a twofold nature in this Renaissance conception of decorum. The first was an attempt to transpose the purely rhetorical distinctions of character into the domain of poetry; the second was the much deeper question of social distinctions.

The discussion of decorum is to be found in all the critics from the time of Vida.² Daniello gives a concise definition of decorum, as the Latins called it, or "convenevolezza," as the Italians named it, when he points out that the speech of the characters should be in keeping with their quality, dignity, habit, office, and age, and the customs and habits of each age should be recognized; besides that, the condition and the country of the personages introduced should be evident; it should be manifest, for instance, whether they are gods or men, and if men, whether they are merchants or farmers, Italians or French, Venetians or Florentines, etc., by giving to each character proper actions and suitable words.

Giraldi Cinthio's definition is shorter. He says that decorum is that which is suitable to times, places, and persons. The ancients, he continues, said that decorum was that beauty and grace which

¹ J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, p. 85.

² Vida, *De Arte Poetica* (1527), II, 468-71, has:

Et quoniam in nostro multi persaepe loquuntur
Carmine, verba illis pro conditione virorum
Aut rerum damus, et proprii tribuuntur honores
Cuique suus, seu mas, seu femina, sive deus sit.

arose from the forms of speech, which, joined with judgment and measures, carried with them some demonstration of moral conduct ("costume"). Decorum is nothing less than, he contends, than the grace and suitableness of things, and it ought to be considered not only as regards actions but as regards speech and the conversation of the personages. For instance, a king would address another king differently from the manner in which he would speak to a vassal. He concludes by striking a new note, a matter which one finds discussed and argued in seventeenth-century France. It is not fitting to introduce God in the poem, he says, and it is entirely out of all decorum to mix pagan with Christian subjects. This, it is important to note, is for Giraldis only a question of decorum. This is a forerunner of the statement of Torquato Tasso, who is generally accredited with being the initiator of the discussion. Tasso is usually referred to as the first to state the question of the propriety of the introduction of pagan gods when dealing with Christian subjects, or vice versa;¹ the fact that Giraldis Cinthio was really the first to state this is worth mentioning. With Tasso it was not merely a question of decorum, but a broader matter of verisimilitude and the marvelous. For him the heroic poem must deal with the history, not of a false religion, but of a true one—Christianity, since the religion of the pagans is not suited for epic material, for if pagan gods are introduced, the element of probability will be lacking. He goes further than Giraldis had done by stating that the epic must deal with themes connected with articles of Christian faith.²

Minturno makes the question of decorum cover all that can befall the hero, thus giving it a broader significance, although he urges the poet to keep in mind the place, the age, the fortune, the condition of the character he is describing, according to the dictates of necessity and of verisimilitude. The stable and basic foundation of decorum is the necessary and the "verisimile," he adds, and just as in the imitation of things themselves so in the description of the habits, the poet ought to observe the quality of the personages. Scaliger is perhaps more specific when he says that the poet should observe

¹ Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

² This opens up a discussion, lasting till the end of the next century in France, which I intend treating more at length at another time.

"et aetas, et habitus, et habitudo, et officium, et instrumenta." In Minturno and Scaliger one finds every detail of character analyzed; the poet is told how young men and old men should act and talk and dress. It was fixed formulas such as these, concerning which no latitude was allowed, that militated against the development of character in neo-classic drama and made of the epic heroes such lifeless puppets of straw. Professor Spingarn has already noted the fact¹ that the observance of decorum had become so essential that Muzio and Capriano both considered Homer's failure always to heed it as a serious ground for criticism. In comparing Vergil with Homer, Capriano says that the former surpasses the latter in dignity and grandeur of style, but especially in decorum.²

So universally accepted did this idea of decorum become that in France we find writers either taking its observance for granted or merely giving a passing reference to the matter, treating it exactly as the Italians had done. One sees Vauquelin, for example, stating that the poet

Quand il luy fait à Didon raconter
Le piteux sac de Troye, il luy fait emprunter
Les gestes, les discours, la posture et les âges
(Lorsqu'il les fait parler) de plusieurs personnages,

and discovers Le Laboureur approaching the matter from a somewhat different viewpoint when he states that there should be nothing in the life of the hero which would shock the customs, the interests, and the religion of the readers, and assures us that he has endeavored to give to the customs he has portrayed "toute la vray semblance la plus naturelle et toutes les couleurs les plus douces."

As early as 1536 Paccius, in his Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, recognized, following the words of the Stagirite, that the marvelous was more adapted to the epic than to tragedy, because the actor is not usually before the eyes of the beholder in the heroic poem,³ Giraldi states the matter differently. Aristotle has shown us, he says, that the marvelous is suitable to heroic and great compositions, and that for that end a falsehood is more useful than the truth, because

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

² *Della vera poetica*, Vinegia, 1555.

³ A. Paccius, *Aristotelis Poetica*, Venetis, p. 25.

the marvelous is born from the false, for it could hardly arise from true things universally recognized as such, for there is nothing marvelous in that which frequently and naturally occurs, but there is a great deal in that which appears impossible.¹

The epic, says Minturno, writing a few years later, awakens marvel in the minds of the hearers more than any other form of poetry. Who does not know that the end of poetry is producing wonderment,² an idea which Scaliger reflects when he says that the greatest virtue of the poet is in holding the reader in suspense until the last word. Those things make us marvel, Minturno continues, which happen beyond our belief, especially when they are so united that one event seems to follow reasonably from and depend upon another, because things which happen by chance are more marvelous, for they cause us to believe that they happened by divine counsel. Because marvel is born both from the things and the words, we repute those things marvelous which are not vainly invented, but prudently and wonderfully conceived and disposed in a splendid arrangement. There is then for Minturno, aside from the pleasure which the marvelous excited, the additional element arising from the skill of the poet, who inspires his readers with awe. This point of view coincides with that of Castelvetro who says that the end of poetry is delight and the marvelous specially causes delight. Some may ask, Castelvetro says, why the marvelous is required in tragedy and even more in the epic. The answer is that the end of poetry is delight, and the marvelous is employed so that poetry may attain its end; and he adds that it is more marvelous when a change is made in the fortunes of a character in a very limited time and a very limited space. Tasso, too, shows that he considers the marvelous an important element of epic poetry when he says that the inherent delight of the epic is perhaps the marvelous.³ Huet⁴ contrasts thus the epic and the roman: "Les poèmes ont plus de merveilleux, quoique toujours vraisemblables; les romans ont plus du vraisemblable, quoiqu'ils aient quelquefois du merveilleux." Thus all agree that the marvelous is one of the most important elements in the epic poem.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

² *Arte poetica*, Venezia, 1564, p. 120.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ *De l'Origine des Romans*, p. 349.

The twofold nature of the marvelous of which Minturno made mention is also in the mind of Vauquelin when he wrote the passage already cited:

Ainsi dedans les vers le faux entrelassé,
Avec le vray-semblant d'un conte du passé,
Nous emeut, nous chatouille et nous poind davantage
Que l'estude qu'on met à polir son ouvrage.

Vauquelin, holding the contrary viewpoint to that of Boileau, demands the suppression of pagan subjects and of the marvelous which accompanies them. He thus refutes in advance Boileau's contention. According to Vauquelin, the best manner of imitating the ancients is to sing as they did of the beliefs, the customs, and the glories of France.

For Boileau, as for Tasso and Minturno, an essential condition of epic poetry is the employment of the marvelous. As he says, it "se soutient par la fable et vit de fiction," otherwise the poetry would languish and die. This, of course, is a fundamental error on the part of Boileau which was for him the source of many others. Epic poetry has not as its aim and task the causing of marvel in the public by something supernatural. Boileau's formula is too narrow, as is that of Tasso and Minturno. Furthermore, he counsels the authors of his time to employ exclusively the "merveilleux païen." Having in mind Tasso's poem, Boileau would have us believe that an epic poem based on the "merveilleux chrétien" can succeed, but if it succeeds, it is not on account of this marvelous element, but in spite of it; but there is no doubt of the fact that for Boileau the only safe course for the poet is to employ the "merveilleux païen." Boileau, considering the marvelous in the epic to be only a mass of fictions, hopes to exclude from this sort of poem God, the saints, and the prophets, on the ground that the introduction of such venerated beings would serve only to render them less lofty. For Boileau the marvelous is only a literary system of symbolic fictions; in the eyes of Lemoyne, Chapelain, Desmarets, it is a living assemblage of personages not less real, not less indispensable than the heroes. For them, heaven, hell, the saints, etc., are the necessary actors in the poem. There is a great diversity of opinion. Coras, in the Preface to his *Jonas*¹ contends that he finds the single conversion of Nineveh

¹ *Jonas ou Ninive penitente*, Paris, 1663.

much more marvelous than the taking of Troy. Scudéry¹ while insisting that invention is almost impossible in subjects taken from sacred history, excepts the work of his friend Saint-Amant on the grounds that the life of Moses has all the marvelous that invention could give it. For Godeau, as for many of his Italian predecessors, the marvelous is of supreme importance, but he does not always see in religious subjects matter marvelous enough for epic treatment. In his preface to *Saint-Paul* (1654) he says: "I think there is no one who will not agree that the martyrdom of Saint Paul is not a very rich matter. For, in truth, there does not seem much else to say except that he had his head cut off, which is very verisimilar, but not marvelous, and consequently cannot be the subject of a heroic poem." The fact that a matter is not marvelous would exclude it from the poem.

Frénicle says:² "Quand il s'agit de la grandeur de Dieu, et les mystères de l'Evangile, il semble que l'on doive changer de maximes et de reigles, d'autant que toutes les actions divines sont merveilles ... il ne faut pas avoir recours à la vraisemblance quand les veritez se trouvent si parfaites." It is interesting to see that Desmarets in referring to the same idea³ expresses it in just the reverse manner: "Dans les sujets saints et divins, il y a de bien plus nobles caracteres d'esprits, et de bien plus merveilleux mouvemens du cœur à représenter, que dans les sujets heroïques. Parce qu'ils ont la verité pour fondement ils ne doivent jamais se départir du Vray-semblable dans leurs inventions, fictions, et comparaisons." For Frénicle it is not necessary to pay attention to verisimilitude since the truth is so manifest; for Desmarets the fact that truth is the very foundation of the work makes it all the more necessary not to depart from verisimilitude. Desmarets contends that there is a great deal of difference between a heroic subject of which the principal personage is only a man of worth, in which the marvelous and the supernatural appear only as helps or hindrances to heaven or hell, in what is ordinarily termed machines invented by the poet, and a subject of which the principal personage is God who by himself does such marvelous

¹ Preface to *Alaric*.

² Preface to *Jesus Crucifié*, 1636.

³ Preface to *Marie Madeleine*, Paris, 1669.

things that all the poet has to do is to represent them according to truth, with rich figures to call the admiration of the reader. Writing a few years later,¹ he seems to put the matter on the basis of the religion of the hero, thus lining up definitely with neither side in the controversy. The epic poem, he says, must have fictions to be a poem and these fictions in order to be received by the judgment of the reader must be verisimilar, and "all the marvelous and the supernatural must be founded on the religion of the hero whom one takes for subject."

For Le Bossu, there is a possible conflict between the marvelous and verisimilitude.² The fact that poets have become moral philosophers introducing God into their works has obliged them to make the action of their poems great and important. They must think and speak in a manner above the ordinary. But all that, being divine and miraculous, can ruin the verisimilitude, without which an action is less capable of persuasion. In this the poet must be careful, he warns, since his first aim is to instruct. He believes that the best guide in determining the extent to which the marvelous can be pushed is that of common sense, to be acquired largely by the reading of good authors and even by comparing with them the shortcomings of the poor ones. The dramatic writers pay more attention to verisimilitude than to the marvelous whereas the epic authors give chief place to "l'admirable," the epic having the advantage of employing "machines" which exceed natural verisimilitude.

Thus it will be seen that there is complete accord among the critics on the question of the importance of the part played by the marvelous in the epic poem, although there is by no means agreement regarding its nature. In fact, the striking diversity of ideas concerning the latter brings us face to face with the matter of the personal and the impersonal element in poetry, a subject not within the province of this article. Because a poet is a Christian is he to restrict his imagination to Christian subjects? Is there to be an intimate connection between what the poet personally believes and the feelings he creates in the poem? These and other debatable points held the attention of seventeenth-century theorists, with voices raised for and

¹ *La Defense du Poëme Herotique*, Paris, 1674.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

against those who, like Godeau, claimed that even a Christian, when writing, becomes a pagan. This whole question I intend treating at another time.

A matter which is connected with this general discussion, although of minor importance, is that of the employment of true names. Robortelli initiates a discussion regarding the employment of true names which endures through the century. If the names are invented, he says, it is evident that the personages are invented and likewise their deeds. The epic, nevertheless, retains some true actions and consequently employs true names. Pigna, too, sees the origin of the invention of the subject-matter in the invention of names. First, he says, true facts were attributed to true persons, then facts which had not really happened, and as the facts came to be entirely made up from the imagination of the poet, so were the persons really invented. He points out that Ariosto has, for the most part, employed true names of the places of which he speaks. Minturno, recognizing the use of true names in the epic—in Vergil and Homer, for example—asserts that this does not mean that poets depart from universal facts. Castelvetro points out that if the poet were to introduce new names for famous kings known historically on account of their notable actions, he would be contradicting history and sinning against manifest truth. But the epic can use some invented names, he continues, because the action is real; however, it can only have the appearance of reality by using true names of the king whose actions are described or who has a part in the action. But the names of the other persons may be imagined, especially if they are people whose names are not usually recorded in the book of fame. Nobles and kings are never accustomed to name the servants except by their office; they are called secretary, butler, etc. This usage is preserved by tragic poets for greater effect of verisimilitude, but it is not followed by epic poets because in their narration they can readily introduce imagined and invented names for such characters. Castelvetro concludes, however, that the poet who composes his epic plot with real names taken from history ought not to be esteemed less a poet than the one who composes a plot containing all the events and names imagined and invented; on the contrary, he thinks the former should be esteemed the greater poet.

Ronsard cannot believe¹ that Priam, Hector, Alexander, and the rest, all of whom have Greek names invented by Homer, have ever existed, for if they really did, the Trojan chiefs would have borne the name of their Phrygian country. As a consequence, Ronsard contends that it is easy to see that the Trojan War was invented by Homer.

In the seventeenth century we find Saint-Amant² asserting that he has used "des noms fabuleux" such as "l'Olimpe au lieu du Ciel, l'Herebe ou l'Averne au lieu de l'Enfer" only to render things more poetic, an idea with which Boileau seems in complete accord when he says:

La fable offre à l'esprit mille agrémens divers:
Là tous les noms heureux semblent nés pour les vers,
Ulysse, Agamemnon, Oreste, Idoménée,
Hélène, Ménélas, Paris, Hector, Enée ...
D'un seul nom quelquefois le son dur ou bizarre
Rend un poème entier ou burlesque ou barbare.

Coras, in the Preface to *Jonas*, disagrees entirely with this point of view. He cannot endure, on religious grounds, the fact that a poet mixes Jupiter with the God of Abraham, nor Orpheus with Jesus, nor Hercules with Samson, and concludes by saying: "Je ferois conscience de me servir des noms de Neptune, de Vulcain, et de Cybele, pour exprimer la mer, le feu, et la terre."

It will readily be seen that the discussion of verisimilitude falls into several subdivisions, as was stated at the outset, for the word connotes more in the sixteenth century than it does at the present time, when such matters as the rules relating to the marvelous and decorum are no longer observed. The fact will at once be evident that it was Aristotelian and Horatian doctrine which initiated largely the discussions of the various phases of this question throughout the period we have treated, and for that reason the rather dangerous conclusion that there is to be seen evident influence of Italian theorists on those of France has been purposely avoided. I have been content with merely indicating the striking similarities. Everyone knows that the theoretical controversy of sixteenth-century Italy has

¹ P. de Ronsard, *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1887-93, III, p. 515.

² Preface to *Mojse sauvé*.

shaped and molded, in great measure, the critical ideas of seventeenth-century France, and the discussion of verisimilitude is only an interesting confirmation of this fact. I have endeavored to separate from the entanglements of theoretical verbiage, that seemed in some cases a heritage from the later Renaissance, the material contributions to the question under review, not with an idea of merely cataloguing the items, but with the purpose of showing the nature of the controversy and the original material which each writer has contributed. It has been shown that the discussion of the word "verisimilitude" cannot be separated from the question of the employment of the marvelous, of decorum, and of true names in the epic, all of these elements involving to a greater or less degree the implication of a resemblance to truth. If the attempt of the poet to produce wonder in his hearers departs too markedly from truth, he fails; if he does not observe strictly the well-known attributes of his several personages, he does not succeed in producing his effect; if he invents too palpably the names he gives his characters, the reader loses faith somewhat in the truth of the story itself. Definitions serve us up to a certain point, but beyond that there is a vast domain of the subjective which cannot be measured. "What is verisimilitude?" asks Lemaitre writing in 1883 an article on Daudet in the *Revue bleue*. "Is it the same for everybody?" And curiously enough, he replies to his own query in the very words which Torquato Tasso employed in the sixteenth century, i.e., that it is, after all has been said, a relative term.

II. PLAGIARISM BY SCUDÉRY OF TASSO'S EPIC THEORY

Attention has never been called, so far as I know, to the interesting bit of plagiarism on the part of Scudéry, one of the best-known writers of the heroic poem in seventeenth-century France, when he borrows whole passages from Tasso's *Discorso del Poema Heroico*, in writing his Preface to *Alaric ou Rome vaincuë*. It is all the more interesting in view of the fact that Scudéry so insistently denies it. In speaking of his own poem, he says:

Je sçay que l'invention est plus aprouvée que l'imitation, je me suis servy que rarement de cette dernière. ... Si j'ay pris quelque chose dans les Grecs et dans les Latins, je n'ay rien pris du tout dans les Italiens, dans les Espagnols, ny dans les François: me semblant que ce qui est estude chez les Anciens, est vollerie chez les Modernes.

I am, of course, concerned here only with the theory of the epic as outlined in his Preface to *Alaric ou Rome vaincuë*, and do not intend to discuss the well-known fact that, in spite of Scudéry's assertion that he has taken nothing at all from the Italians or the other moderns, his poem itself is in large measure influenced by the *Gerusalemme liberata*, a fact which was recognized even in the seventeenth century in France, and which has been clearly brought out in the dissertation of Reinhold Reumann, *Georges de Scudéry als Epiker*.¹ Herr Reumann, however, although he finds many passages within the poem itself which are unquestionably influenced by or borrowed from Tasso, accepts Scudéry's Preface as his own, and not once in the whole dissertation, even in those places where he quotes it at length to show Scudéry's views, does he suspect for one moment that he is really quoting Tasso.

One who knows anything about Scudéry is justified in being skeptical about the list of authorities whom he claims to have consulted, especially as there is little internal evidence that he has read them at all, except in one or two cases. It is an impressive assemblage of critical writers whom he summons before the eyes of the unsuspecting seventeenth-century reader.

J'ay consulté les Maistres là dessus: c'est à dire Aristote et Horace: et après eux Macrobe, Scaliger, le Tasse, Castelvetro, Piccolomini, Vida, Vossius, Pacius, Ricobon, Robortel, Paul Benni, Mambrun, et plusieurs autres: et passant de la Theorie à la Pratique, j'ay releu fort exactement l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée* d'Homere; l'*Eneïde* de Virgile; la *Guerre civile* de Lucain; la *Thebaïde* de Stace; les *Rolands amoureux et furieux* de Boyardo et de l'Arioste; l'incomparable *Hierusalem delivrée* du fameux Torquato; et grand nombre d'autres Poèmes Epiques en diverses Langues.

In another place he says: "Voicy les Regles comme je l'ay dit, tirées de celles d'Aristote; du Tasse; et de tous ces autres Grands hommes." The "other great men," whom he shows evidence of having read at first hand, I should limit to approximately two or three besides Tasso, namely, Castelvetro and Robortelli, for almost the entire Preface is merely a plagiarism of the *Discorso del Poema Heroico*.

Even a casual reading of the Preface will suffice to make patent the fact that there must be considerable influence, for one finds

¹ Leipzig, 1911.

frequent mention of the author of the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Scudéry, furthermore, is not slow to acknowledge in several places his indebtedness to Tasso. For instance, he says:

L'illustre Sujet du Poëme Epique, ne doit point estre pris maintenant, à mon advis, des Histoires du Paganisme: parce (comme je viens de le dire, et comme le Tasse l'a dit devant moy) que tous ces Dieux imaginaires, destruisent absolument l'Epopée, en destruisant la vray-semblance, qui en est tout le fondement.

And again:

Que si de la premiere constitution de la Fable, nous passons aux Mœurs, qui en sont la partie la plus importante; le Tasse me pardonnera, si j'appelle de luy à luy-mesme: lors qu'il dit dans ses *Discours Poëtiques*, que la Morale n'est pas l'objet du Poëte, qui ne doit songer qu'à divertir.

Scudéry then continues, saying that Tasso has later published a retraction in the third stanza of his great poem, and quoting eight lines of the *Jerusalem Delivered*. Scudéry sees in Tasso's contention that allegory ought to be present throughout the epic poem justification for believing that the poet ought at least to think as much of the useful as the enjoyable, and that his chief aim should be to instruct. He points out that Tasso has printed at the end of the *Jerusalem Delivered* a long treatise on allegory, in which he shows that there is not a single action in all his poem which is not instructive. Again, when Scudéry desires to justify the selection of the title of his poem, *Alaric ou Rome vaincuë*, when Homer and Vergil had named their works more shortly the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Aeneid*, he says that Tasso is his guaranty, he having named his poem *Il Godfredo overo la Gerusalemme liberata*. There are, then, several references to Tasso—about twenty in all—which the casual reader might remark, but on analyzing the Preface, one discovers evidences of influence which has not been acknowledged.

In the first place, Scudéry entitles his Preface a "Discours de l'Épopée"; Tasso had named his work *Discorso del Poema Heroico*. Tasso says there are four parts to the epic, "fable, costume, sentenza, elocutione"; Scudéry deals with the epic under these same headings—"fable, mœurs, sentences, élocution." Tasso mentions the figures of speech as being hyperbole, prosopopea, metaphors, and similes; Scudéry mentions the same figures and treats them in the same order.

Both Scudéry and Tasso treat the marvelous and verisimile together; Tasso compares epic and romanzi, Scudéry compares epic and roman. Tasso mentions the differences between tragedy, epic, and comedy, as Aristotle had pointed them out; Scudéry does the same. When speaking of love in the poem, Tasso mentions "quegli scrittori Spagnuoli"; in this same connection Scudéry quotes from Guevarra, "l'un des plus beaux esprits de toute l'Espagne." Tasso quotes "Hoc opus, hic labor est"; Scudéry does likewise. Both mention the "errors" of geography, both mention Hannibal and Scipio, both deal with the "proposition" and invocation.

So far, these matters are not in themselves conclusive, but when we proceed to a comparison of passages, we discover that Scudéry has copied word for word from Tasso, constituting what seems to be a clear case of plagiarism.

SCUDÉRY

Je dis donc, que celuy qui compose un Poëme Epique, doit songer principalement à trois choses.

A choisir une Matiere qui soit propre à recevoir la plus excellente Forme que l'Artifice du Poëte luy pourra donner.

A luy donner cette Forme, telle que je viens de dire.

Et à embellir des plus rares Orne-mens dont elle puisse estre capable [p. 2].

Voilà, Lecteur, quelle doit estre la Matiere du Poëme Epique: c'est à dire en peu de paroles, l'autorité de l'Histoire, l'usage receu de la Religion; la license de la fiction Poëtique; et la Grandeur des evenemens [p. 9].

Il en est de trois especes: le sublime; le mediocre; et le bas [p. 13].

Ayant à traiter icy de l'elocution, il faut par consequent que je parle

TASSO

A trè cose dee haver riguardo, Illustriss. Signore, ciascuno che di scriver poema Heroico si prepone: a sceglier materia tale, che sia atta a ricever in se quella più eccellente forma, che è l'artificio del poeta cerca d'introdurci; a darle tal forma, e a vestirla ultimamente con que' più rari ornamenti, ch'alla natura di lei siano convenienti [p. 19].

Eccovi, Signor Scipione, le conditioni che giuditioso poeta dee nella materia ricercare, lequali, repilogando in breve giro di parole quanto s'è detto, sono queste. L'autorità dell'-historia, la verità della religione, la licenza del fingere, e la grandezza de gli avvenimenti [p. 52].

Trè siano i generi del parlare, l'alto, il mediocre, e l'humile [p. 119].

Dovendo io trattare dell'elocutione, si trattarà per conseguente

SCUDÉRY

encore du style: parce que la premiere, selon Aristote et selon le Tasse, n'estant autre chose que l'assemblage des paroles, etc. [p. 12].

Le Ciel est tout semé d'Etoiles; l'Air et la Mer sont pleins d'Oyseaux et de Poissons; la Terre a des Animaux sauvages et des domestiques; des Ruisseaux, des Fontaines, et des Lacs; des Prez, des Campagnes, des Monts, et des Bois; des Fruits, des Fleurs, des Glaçons, et de la Neige; des Habitations, des Champs cultivez; des Solitudes, des Rochers, et des Precipices; tout cela ne fait qu'un Monde [p. 12].

Le magnifique est donc le propre de l'Epopée: neantmoins le mediocre, et mesme le bas, y peuvent estre employez [p. 13].

De mesme dans un Poëme Epique, on voit des Armées rangées ou campées; des batailles sur la Terre ou sur la Mer; des prises des Villes, des Escarmouches, et des Duels; des descriptions de la faim, de la soif; des Tempestes, et des embrasemens, des seditions, des Enchantemens; des actions cruelles, et des actions genereuses; des evenemens d'amour, tantost heureux, et tantost infortunez; et cependant, au milieu d'une si grande diversité de choses, l'unité ne laisse pas d'estre en la Fable comme au Monde, si elle est faite selon les Regles de l'Art [p. 12].

Mais ce qui s'appelle Matiere avant que d'avoir passé par l'artifice

TASSO

delle forme del parlare [p. 103]. Io dico che l'elocutione altro non è, che uno accoppiamento di parole [p. 8].

E' l Cielo si vede sparso, ò distinto di tanta varietà di stelle, e discendendo poi giù di regione in regione, l'aria e 'l mare pieni di ucelli e di pesci, e la terra albergatrice di tanti animali così feroci, come mansueti, nella quale e ruscelli, e fonti, e laghi, e prati, e campagne, e selve, e monti sogliamo rimirare, e qui frutti, e fiori, là ghiacci, e nevi, qui habitationi, e culture, là solitudine, e horrori; con tutto ciò uno è il mondo [p. 77].

La forma sublime, e magnifica, è proprio dell'heroico, e quantunque possa mescolarsi con l'altre [p. 146].

Nel quale quasi in un picciolo mondo qui si leggano ordinanze di esserciti, qui battaglie terrestri, e navali, qui espugnazioni di città, scaramucce, e duelli, qui descrittioni di fame, e di sete, qui tempeste, qui incendii, qui prodigii ... là si veggiano seditioni ... là incanti, là opere di crudeltà, di cortesia, di generosità, là avvenimenti d'amore, hor felici, hor infelici: ma che nondimeno uno sia il poema, che tanta varietà di materie contegna, una la forma, e l'anima sua, e che tutte queste cose sieno di maniera composte, che l'una l'altra riguardi, l'una all'altra corrisponda, l'una dall'altra dependa, si che una sola parte, ò tolta via, ò mutata di sito il tutto si distrugga [p. 78].

Ma questa prima che sia caduta sotto l'artificio dell'Epico, materia si

SCUDÉRY

Epique, se nomme Forme, après que le Poëte l'a disposée, et qu'il en a construit sa Fable: et c'est pour cela qu'Aristote l'appelle l'ame du Poëme. Or le Tasse ayant comparé cette Matiere à celle que les philosophes appellent Matiere premiere: il me semble que comme en celle-cy, bien que privée de toute Forme, ces Philosophes ne laissent pas d'y considerer la quantité, qui en est inseparable: il me semble, dis-je, que le Poëte doit avant toute chose, considerer cette quantité: afin que son Sujet ne soit pas si ample de luy-mesme, qu'en voulant après former la Fable, il ne puisse l'orner d'Episodes sans la rendre excessive en sa longueur [p. 9].

Je crois que le Sujet du Poëme Heroïque, doit estre plutost veritable qu'inventé: parce que le Poëte Epique, devant sur toutes choses s'attacher au vray-semblable; il ne le seroit point, qu'une action illustre ne fust descrite dans aucun Historien. En effet, les Grandes actions ne peuvent estre inconnuës et celles que l'on croit absolument fausses ne touchent point, et donnent peu de satisfaction [p. 2].

TASSO

chiama, dopo ch'è stata dal poeta disposta, e trattata, e con l'elocutione è vestita, se ne forma la favola, laqual non è più materia, ma è forma, e anima del poema, e tale è da Aristotele giudicata. Ma havendo nel principio di questo discorso assomigliata quella materia, che fu detta nuda aquella, che chiamano i naturali materia prima, giudico che si come nella materia prima, benchè priva d'ogni forma, nondimeno vi si considera da filosofi la quantità, laquale è perpetua, e eterna compagna di lei: così anco il Poeta debba in nostra materia, inanzi ad ogn'altra cosa, la quantità considerare, peròche è necessario, che togliendo egli a trattare alcuna materia, la toglia accompagnata. Avertisca dunque, che la quantità, ch'egli prende, non sia tanta, che volend'egli poi nel formare la testura della favola inserirvi molti Episodij, e adornare, e illustrare le cose, che semplici sono in sua natura, il poema cresca in tanta grandezza, che disconvenol paia e dismisurato [p. 52.]

Ma oltre l'autorità si potrebbero adducere molte ragioni, per le quali al Poeta Heroico si conviene fare il suo fondamento nel vero, e prima dovendo l'Epico cercare in molte parti il verisimile, non è verisimile, che un'azione illustre, come sono quelle da lui trattate non sia scritta e passata alla memoria de' posterì con la penna d'alcuno storico, e i grandi e fortunosi avvenimenti non possono esser'incogniti, e ove non siano recati in scrittura, da questo solo argumentano gli huomini la loro falsità, e falsi stimandoli non con-

SCUDÉRY

Mais pour revenir promptement de cette digression necessaire, je dis que j'ay considéré que Lucain et Silius Italicus, pour avoir embrassé trop de choses Historiques, n'ont pû orner leurs ouvrages de la varieté des Episodes, qui est ce qui en fait tout l'agrément: et de là est venu sans doute, cette opinion presques generale entre les gents de Lettres, que l'un et l'autre sont plutost des Historiens que des Poëtes [p. 10].

Il faut donc que l'argument du Poëme Epique soit pris de l'Histoire Chrétienne, mais non pas de l'Histoire Sainte [p. 4].

Que si les Maistres de l'Art nous disent en suite, que le Siecle du Heros Epique, ne doit estre ni si esloigné du nostre, que la mémoire en soit entiere-ment esteinte; ny si proche que l'on n'ose mesler l'invention à la verité; je crois estre demeuré dans cette mediocre distance qu'ils nous prescrivent. Au reste, il est certain que le Poëte doit traiter les choses, non comme elles ont esté, mais comme elles doivent estre: et les changer et rechanger à son gré, sans considerer ny l'Histoire, ny la verité, qui ne sont ny sa Regle, ny sa fin [p. 8].

Mais il ne faut pas oublier, que comme chaque vertu a quelque vice qui luy est proche, et qui luy ressemble; comme par exemple, la liberalité et la prodigalité; la temerité et la valeur; de mesme toute sorte de Style parfait, a pour voisin le defectueux [p. 13].

Une mesme action peut estre merueilleuse et vray-semblable [p. 4].

TASSO

sentono di leggieri alle cose scritte [p. 24].

Che s'egli vorrà pure schivare questa dismisura, e questo eccesso, sarà necessitato lasciare le digressioni, e gli altri ornamenti, che sono necessarij al poema, e quasi rimanersi ne' puri, e semplici termini dell'Historia: il che a Lucano, e a Silio Italico si vede in qualche parte avvenuto, l'uno, e l'altro de' quali troppo ampia, e copiosa materia abbracciò [p. 53].

Dee dunque l'argomento del poema Epico esser derivato da vera historia, e da non falsa religione [p. 38].

In queste medesime historie si può fare un'altra distintione, perchè ò contengono avvenimenti de' nostri tempi, ò de' tempi remotissimi, ò cose non molto moderne, nè molto antiche, l'historia di secolo, ò di natione lontanissima pare per alcuna ragione soggetto assai conveniente al poema Heroico, peròche essendo quelle cose in guisa sepolte nell'antichità, ch'a pena ne rimane debole, e oscura memoria, può il poeta mutarle, e rimutarle, e narrarle come gli piace [p. 38].

E perchè si come alla fortezza è vicina l'audacia, alla parsimonia l'avaritia, così ancora alle virtù d'elocutioni è sempre vicino alcun vizio [p. 169].

Può esser dunque una medesima attione, e meravigliosa, e verisimile [p. 36].

SCUDÉRY

Le magnifique degenerate aysément en bouffy et en enflé; le mediocre, en foible et en sterile: et le bas, en grossier le trop populaire [p. 13].

Aristote pose pour une des principales Regles de l'Epopée, que l'action qu'elle décrit soit illustre. Or comme l'action Epique doit estre grande, le Heros doit estre grand [p. 8].

Les paroles n'estant aussi que les Images des pensées, etc. [p. 12].

TASSO

Ma noi chiamono i vitij con altro nome, perch'al sublime facciamo vicino, il gonfio, all'ornato, l'affettato, al piano, il basso [p. 172].

La Tragedia e l'Epoepia non siano differenti frà loro nelle cose imitate, imitando l'una e l'altra parimente l'attioni grandi e illustri [p. 40].

Le parole sono imagini de' concetti [p. 121].

One might continue giving examples of borrowing,¹ but enough citations have been given, I believe, to prove my charge of plagiarism on the part of Scudéry.

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¹ Cf. Scudéry, p. 12, Tasso, p. 151; Scudéry, p. 13, Tasso, p. 171; Scudéry, p. 4, Tasso, p. 36; Scudéry, p. 10, Tasso, pp. 52 and 85, etc. The edition of Tasso which I have used is without date; that of Scudéry is La Haye, 1685.

LOENOIS AS TRISTAN'S HOME

Miss Schoepperle's book on the sources of the Tristan story constituted a decisive progress. Some people think that an equal progress was accomplished in the question of proper names by M. J. Loth's *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde*, Paris, 1912. I do not share this opinion. In article VI ("Le Cornwall et le roman de Tristan") M. Loth endeavored to show that Celtic Great Britain, particularly Cornwall, was the home of the Tristan legend. Here naturally he discussed also the meaning and origin of the names that the extant texts give to Tristan's home. It is evident that Tristan's home need not be the home of the Tristan legend, but it is no less clear that the discovery of Tristan's original home would be of importance for the solution of the wider problem of the origin of the Tristan legend. As the explanations given by M. J. Loth do not appear satisfactory to me, I undertake here to discuss this particular subject once more, as far as *Loenois* is concerned.

It must be said that in M. J. Loth's paper there are a number of erroneous statements concerning the names of Tristan's home. *Pour ces formes et sources* this scholar (*Contributions*, p. 88, n. 1) refers the reader to M. Bédier's: he has simply relied on M. Bédier's handy reconstructions of the Thomas version and of the *poème primitif*, which, on account of their unavoidable incompleteness and subjective coloring, are quite insufficient as a basis for research work. He has adopted M. Bédier's statements even when they are erroneous, and has added to them errors of his own.

In the first place M. Loth states (p. 88): *Eilhart d'Oberg* (probably *Beroul*) *et le Roman en prose font du père de Tristan, Rivalen, un roi de Leonois ou Loenois*. In passing, I point out the mistaken idea or expression that Rivalen is the name of Tristan's father not only in Eilhart, but also in the Prose Romance and probably in Berol, while in reality the prose calls the father Meliadus and the Berol fragment has not recorded his name. For our purpose, however, it is important to note that M. Loth's readers are expected to believe

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that *Leonois*, the form given first, is better attested than *Loenois* and is found in Eilhart's and Berol's poems, the earlier texts. As a matter of fact, the very reverse of this is true.

The variant readings in Eilhart are: *Lohenois* (vss. 266, 635), *Lohnois* (vs. 76), *Lonoyis* (vs. 635), *Lochnoyis* (vs. 635), *Lochnois* (vs. 5622), *Lachnoys* (vs. 76), (German prose: *Johnnois*).¹ For linguistic reasons there can be no doubt that Eilhart's French original had the reading *Loenois*, not *Leonois*. M. Loth's authority and source, i.e., M. Bédier's reconstruction, also gives *Loh(e)nois* as Eilhart's reading (II, 194).

The Berol fragment does not explicitly name Tristan's home; but it is practically certain that when Berol's Tristan twice says he will go to L., he means his home. In verse 2872, which belongs to the portion that the editor, M. Muret, is inclined to attribute to a continuator (p. xxiii), the form of the name is *Loēnoi* (rhyming with *toi*), evidently instead of *Loēnois*,² while in verse 2310, which belongs to the genuine portion of the Berol fragment, the scribe wrote *Orlenois*, an evident blunder for *Loenois*.³ The editor, indeed, emended *Loonois*; but both the spelling *Loenoi* in verse 2872 and the name *Orlenois* itself speak in favor of *Loenois*. M. Bédier (II, 194) gives as Berol's reading *Loonoi*, which is nowhere attested.

As regards the Prose Tristan, scholars ought to distinguish the Vulgate version from the version represented by MS B.N. 103 and the old prints. The latter version, of which M. Bédier has published *les parties anciennes* (in the second volume of his edition of Thomas), has replaced large portions of the Vulgate by the corresponding parts of a verse romance (no doubt Berol; cf. M. Muret's Introduction, pp. lxxv f.); it may be conveniently referred to as the Prose Berol. M. Bédier, who in *Romania* XV had recognized the difference of the

¹ Ulrich von Zatzikhoven and Wolfram von Eschenbach owe their knowledge of Tristan to Eilhart; the former (vs. 8090) writes *Lohenis* (< *Loheneis* or *Lohenois*), the latter *Lohneis* (73/16).

² The practice of corrupting names to suit the exigencies of rhyme was not uncommon. In *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache u. Litteratur*, XXXIX², 175, I adduced various instances, among them Berol's double forms *Frocin*, *Frocine* (both in rhyme).

³ In Wauchler's *Grail* (Potvin III, 88, vs. 22) and in the Prose Lancelot (II, 68/27) we find *Orlenois* as a variant of *Loenois* (*Leonnays* in the prose Perceval of 1530). and in the *Chanson des Saxons* (according to Langlois' *Table*) *Oriens* as a variant of *Loon-Lion* (=Laon).

two versions, unfortunately gave up this distinction in his larger work, calling the B.N. 103 version simply *Roman en prose* and taking no notice of the Vulgate version.¹ This error passed from M. Bédier's book into that of M. Loth, who apparently knows no prose Tristan other than the extracts published by M. Bédier.

In B.N. 103 Tristan's home seems to be spelled *Loonois*; this I conclude from M. Bédier's remarks on pages 123 n., 194, 326 n. of Volume II (his extracts do not contain the name). However the great majority of the other prose MSS seem to have the form *Leonois*. M. Löseth, indeed, employed this reading in the summary, and he mentions as variants *Loonoys*, *Loenois* (§ 4 n.). Unfortunately he does not say in which passages and in which MSS each of these variants occurs. If they were peculiar to MS B.N. 103 and to the old prints, i.e., to Prose Berol texts, we might be justified in assuming that they were Berol forms, while the archetype of the Vulgate version would have had *Leonois*. But it appears that the old prints usually have the reading *Leonnoys-Leonnois* (also *Leonais*?).² Of course the Prose Berol texts, even in their Berol portions, are influenced by the Vulgate, and they may be said to represent Berol only where they differ from the Vulgate. On the other hand, I can point out the reading *Loonois* in a quotation from a Vulgate MS in the British Museum.³ Obviously *Loonois* may be derived as well from *Leonois* as from *Loenois* (retrogressive or progressive assimilation),⁴ and if *Loenois* should prove to be a very rare form in prose MSS, I should say that in these rare cases it is either derived from *Loonois* (dissimilation) or due to the influence of a verse romance. The translations of the Prose Tristan unanimously presuppose the forms *Leoneis* and *Leonois*

¹ In consequence his reconstruction of the *poème primitif* often goes the wrong way, offending against his own rules. According to M. Bédier, a point attested by Eilhart and Prose Tristan alone must go back to the *poème primitif* (I doubt this), while an agreement of Eilhart and Berol alone need not be equally primitive. Now M. Bédier straightway transfers agreements of Eilhart and Prose Berol into his *poème primitif*, treating Prose Berol as if it were the Vulgate Prose Tristan, instead of bringing him, where he differs from the Vulgate, into line with the verse fragment of Berol. Miss Schoepperle has been aware of this error (p. 71, n. 7).

² Cf. e.g., Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, 1851, p. 77; E. Schürhoff, *Ueber den Tristan-Roman des Jean Maugin*, Diss. Halle, 1909, p. 19.

³ Löseth, *Le Tristan et le Palamède des manuscrits français du British Museum* (Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter II Christiania, 1905), p. 23.

⁴ Cf. *Lohoraigne*, *Lohorain* by the side of *Loheraigne*, *Loherenc* (in Langlois' *Table*).

(Italian: *Leonois*, *Leonis*, *Lionis*, *Lionisse*; Spanish: *Leonis*; English: *Lyonas*). The facts enumerated here, though far from being complete, render it very likely that the form used in the archetype of the Prose Tristan was *Leoneis-Leonois*.

Gottfried von Strassburg mentions *Lohnois* as Tristan's home, but only in a passage (vs. 325) where he positively testifies that his authority, Thomas, has another name. M. Bédier, in reproducing this passage (I, 2), changes *Lohnois* into *Loonois*, arbitrarily, as it seems, and M. Loth (p. 88) quotes M. Bédier, without emending the spelling. It is possible that Gottfried's polemic reproduces Thomas; but it is just as likely (in spite of the plural: *Genuoge jehent*) he is merely contradicting Eilhart whom he knew and even plagiarized: *Lohnois* is one of Eilhart's forms.

In his reconstruction of the *poème primitif* (II, 194), M. Bédier calls Tristan's father *roi de Loonois*, adding as authorities *OTR*. *T* (= Thomas) is a lapsus for *B* (= Berol), as is shown also by M. Bédier's own footnote. Besides, not *Loonois*, but *Loenois* ought to be put down as the original form, since the latter is the form attested by *O* (Eilhart) and part of *R* (= Prose Romance) and postulated by *B* (= Berol), while *Loonois* is only attested by part of *R* (Prose Berol perhaps, but not certainly included). Another remark of M. Bédier's is inaccurate and misleading (II, 123 n.): *Les textes qui présentent la leçon Leonois, Leonnois, placent ce pays en Grande-Bretagne, notamment le roman en prose, où on lit que "le Loonois marchisoit au royaume de Cornouaille"* (cf. also Bédier II, 194 n.) *en Angleterre*. Here M. Bédier quotes as an instance of the reading *Leonois*, *Leonnois* a passage (evidently taken from MS B.N. 103) having the reading *Loonois*; and his *notamment* must give rise to the idea that the reading *Leonois*, *Leonnois* also occurs in other Tristan texts besides the Prose Romance, an idea which is not borne out by facts.

We have seen now that M. Loth in giving *Leonois ou Loenois* (in this order!) as the forms recorded in the Tristan texts makes his readers think that *Leonois* is the better attested reading, while, as a matter of fact, the Prose Tristan (the majority of MSS) is the only Tristan text that uses it, the Prose Tristan of which M. Loth says on another occasion (pp. 110-11): *auquel je n'attache pas grande impor-*

tance au point de vue du roman primitif, même dans ses parties dites anciennes, and in *Rev. Celt.*, XXXV, 382: *au point de vue des sources dépourvu de la moindre valeur*. M. Loth's unnatural partiality for the form *Leonois* in spite of the evidence given by the texts may find its explanation in the etymology he proposes.

After having examined the forms of the name as found in the texts, we pass on to consider the indications given about the situation of the country named *Loenois-Loonois-Leonois*.

M. Loth, with his usual vagueness, says (p. 88): *Loonois ou Ermenie, le pays de Tristan, est situé en Grande-Bretagne, d'après Eilhart d'Oberg et Thomas*. We cannot admit the use of *ou*, but must carefully distinguish between *Loonois* and *Ermenie*. As regards *Ermenie*, which does not concern us here, his assertion is altogether wrong. *Ermenie* is peculiar to the Thomas version, but M. Loth could not find either in the Thomas texts¹ or in his authority, Bédier, that *Ermenie* was thought to be in Great Britain. On the contrary, M. Bédier has given a detailed proof that, according to Thomas, *Ermenie* was a Continental country, bordering on Brittany (I, 255 f.). It looks as if M. Loth, with no direct knowledge of the Thomas texts, made the above assertion in order to support his explanation of the name *Ermenie*.

Thomas certainly does not say anything either explicitly or implicitly about the situation of *Loenois*. If the *Lohnois* passage of Gottfried's *Tristan* is not Gottfried's own, but is to be taken as a rendering of Thomas (which is not sure), the author merely denies in it that the kingdom of Tristan's father is *Loenois*. Therefore, if he says that *Riwalin-Kanelengres* had besides *Parmenie* (*Ermenie*) still *ein sunderz lant*, and held this one as a fief of the Breton *duc Morgan*, all we can say of the latter country is that it cannot have been *Loenois*. But M. Bédier, who in Volume I (p. 4, n. 1) rightly called the *sunderz lant* *une autre terre qui n'est pas nommée*, misrepresented things in Volume II (p. 194 n.) in asserting that *Tristan's father tient le Loonois en fief, et son suzerain est Morgan, duc de Bretagne*. This erroneous statement passed almost verbatim into M. Loth's article (p. 88).

¹ Gottfried's account is confused, mixing up places in Great Britain with places in Brittany.

Both M. Bédier (II, 194) and M. Loth (p. 88) assert that, according to Eilhart, *Loenois* was in Great Britain; but they do not produce any arguments for this assertion. When Rivalin went from *Lohnois* to *Kornevalis*, nothing is said of a sea-voyage (we miss nothing); but in describing the return journey the sea is mentioned (vs. 95). Tristan also goes on board a ship when leaving *Lohnois* to visit his uncle in Cornwall (vss. 255, 264 ff.). In the brief account of Tristan's journey from *Karahes* (Brittany) to *Lohenois* and back (vss. 8556 ff.) no navigation is spoken of. No doubt the positive evidence is more to be relied on than the negative instances.¹ But all we are allowed to conclude from Eilhart's indications is that it is either necessary or more convenient to undertake a sea-voyage to pass from *Lohenois* to Cornwall or vice versa. This conclusion does not solve the question whether for Eilhart *Lohenois* was in Great Britain or on the Continent.

The Berol fragment is still more uncertain as regards the situation of *Loenois*. Tristan, wishing to get reconciled to King Marc, tells the hermit Ogrin that he will either stay at the court or leave the country: *Ainz m'en irai ançois un mois En Bretagne ou en *Loenois* (MS *Orlenois*) (vss. 2309 f.); and he repeats this proposal in his interview with King Marc: *O m'en irai ... Loenoi* (vs. 2872). He probably thought of going either to Arthur's court (*en Bretagne*) or to his native country (*Loënois*). It is very likely that *Bretagne* here designates *Logres*, i.e., the English part of Great Britain,² not Brittany, which, in this portion of the romance, does not yet play a rôle.³ But, whatever *Bretagne* meant, *Loënois* may be at any distance whatever from this country. That Berol's *Loenois* is Tristan's home can hardly be doubted, for in no other Tristan text is it or its equivalent mentioned for any other reason. Even in the Prose

¹ Eilhart even omitted mentioning a sea-voyage when he fully described Tristan's journey from Arthur's court to *Karahes* in Brittany (*Tristan reit in siben nachtin*: vs. 5488), while in the briefer description of Tristan's journey from *Karahes* to Cornwall the use of ships is mentioned (vs. 6269).

² Concerning the different meanings of *Bretagne* cf. my arguments in *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr.*, XX, 79 ff. and XLIV¹, 78 ff. Dr. W. Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung* (Programm Wilhelm Gymnasium, Hamburg, 1897), pp. 2-3, showed that Eilhart, too, uses *Britanja* to designate Arthur's country.

³ The copyist of our Berol fragment who wrote *Orlenois* instead of *Loenois* obviously equated *Bretagne* with Brittany. But his opinion is of no value.

Tristan, where *Leonois* plays an important rôle in the early history preceding Tristan's time for centuries, this rôle is nevertheless merely a preparation for the function of *Leonois* as Tristan's home. Moreover, the fact that Berol's version has, as its editor says (p. iii), *la plus étroite ressemblance avec la narration d'Eilhart*, practically excludes the a priori possibility that Berol should deviate from Eilhart in such essential features as are the function of *Leonois* and the home of the hero.

After having wrongly asserted that Thomas makes Rivalen hold *Leonois* as a fief of the duke Morgan, M. Loth continues: *Le Roman en prose a j o u t e que le Loonois "marchisoit a la terre de Cornouaille."* It would be an error to think that the Prose Tristan, too, contained the above statement of Thomas and added to it the sentence quoted. In reality, it is only M. Loth who makes this addition. He found the sentence quoted from the Prose Tristan in M. Bédier's notes (II, 123, 194). The latter scholar does not inform us in which part of the romance the sentence is to be found. It is not in his extracts, but obviously corresponds to M. Löseth's § 4: *Leonois* (M. Bédier seems to be quoting MS B.N. 103), *pays voisin de la Cornouaille*. Both M. Bédier and M. Loth, tacitly identifying Cornouaille with Cornwall, used the above remark to prove that according to the Prose Tristan *Loonois* (read rather *Leonois*) is in Great Britain. But the situation is not quite so simple.

The indications of the Prose Romance plainly demonstrate that the author or one of the redactors of this text (which no doubt has been revised repeatedly) considered Cornouaille as a territory in Great Britain. The rôle of St. Augustine, who converted *Leonois* and Cornouaille (§§ 14, 15), the relations of Cornouaille to Logres (England) (§ 10) and to Ireland (§§ 13, 15, 28), the giants of Cornouaille and Logres (§ 10), and the sea-voyage between Cornouaille and Brittany (§§ 58, 62) are instances that unmistakably point to Great Britain. As Cornwall was regularly called *Cornouaille* in French, the identification of insular Cornouaille with Cornwall seems to be self-evident and unavoidable. It is not so. For, strange as it may appear, in the Vulgate Galaad Grail cycle Cornouaille is a region situated in Scotland (see *infra*). Now, as said above, one of the

Galaad Grail cycles was a source of Pseudo-Helie's Prose Tristan, and the very portion in which so much is told about Cornouaille and Leonois is one of those that show this influence. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that in the Prose Tristan the insular Cornouaille was thought to be anything else but Cornwall, for the giants who first inhabited Cornouaille and Logres (§ 10) evidently descend from Geoffrey's *Historia* (I, 16): *insulae Albion quae a nemine exceptis paucis gygantibus habitabatur; Cornubia: gygantes quorum copia plus ibidem abundabat quam in ulla provinciarum*, etc. Geoffrey's Cornubia where the giants were more numerous than in the other British regions is Cornwall. Also the frequent and intimate relations of Cornouaille with *Gaule* (France) (§§ 7, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24) are only more or less plausible if a southern part of the island is designated by Cornouaille. Tintagel, King Mark's residence, is well known as a place in Cornwall (§ 33, etc.). Finally it seems to me incredible that a later Tristan redactor could deviate from the very strong tradition attested by all the other versions that Cornwall was the scene of most of the events of the story.

Now, knowing that in the Prose Tristan Cornouaille is Cornwall and that Cornouaille and Leonois are constantly represented as neighboring countries (§§ 4, 7, 9), we should imagine that it would be easy to determine which region is meant by Leonois. We might think that the names of towns that are supposed to be in Leonois, *Lu(i)sin* (§ 5) and *Albine* (§§ 8, 20), would facilitate this task. But we are disappointed. We have hardly a chance of succeeding in identifying those names, just as we probably should try in vain to find the town of *Norhout* (§§ 15, 19) and the castle of *Gleved(o)in* (§ 27) in Cornwall (while *Tintagel*, which the Prose Tristan has in common with other Tristan versions, is real).¹ It looks as if the author or redactor, though being, or pretending to be, an Englishman or a Frenchman living in England (since he mentions the archbishop of Canterbury as a sort of patron of his, § 14), also makes use of romantic or imaginary topography. This uncertainty may extend to the situation of Leonois. Anyhow we are unable to find in Great Britain a district meeting the requisites of the case.

¹ *Norhaut-Nohau*: *Nohau* is in the Vulgate Galaad Grail cycle a town somewhere in the north of Great Britain (the lady of *Norhaut* is besieged by the king of *Northumberlande*). Cf. Sommer's Index to *The Vulgate Version*.

M. Loth thinks, indeed, that the district of Caerlleon on the Wysc (in South Wales) may be meant by Leonois, since *cette région n'est pas loin du Cornwall* and since *d'après Gottfried, Rivalen traverse la mer pour aller voir Marc* (p. 88). I have already refuted M. Loth's strange view that Thomas treated Leonois as the home of Rivalen and Tristan: it is from Ermenie that Tristan's father goes to Cornwall; and Ermenie was in Thomas a Continental district (cf. *supra*). On the other hand, it is not sufficient that Caerlleon is not distant from Cornwall. The Prose Tristan distinctly indicates that the countries Cornouaille and Leonois are contiguous: the forest in which King Pelyas was hunting (§ 4) was the common boundary and the *chastel de la Roche* (§ 9) was a frontier castle. But the sea (Bristol Channel) separates Caerlleon from Cornwall; Devonshire is the only province that borders on Cornwall. M. Loth evidently foresaw this objection; for he adds (*loc. cit.*): *On peut même dire qu'à l'époque où le pays de Somerset était encore indépendant des Anglo-Saxons, le royaume de Dumnonia comprenant le Devon et le Cornwall était limitrophe du Sud-Galles*. In reality, the common boundary of Dumnonia and South Wales seems to have been even at this early epoch only a very small part of the river Severn where it enters the Bristol Channel (cf. the map in J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 4th ed., London, 1908). Even this very small boundary seems to have been lost since the battle of Deorham, in 577. "This battle," says J. Rhys (*op. cit.*, p. 108), "in which fell three Welsh kings, . . . was followed by the taking by Ceawlin [king of the West Saxons] of the important towns of Bath, Gloucester and Cirencester, whereby the West Welsh, as those of the peninsula south of the Severn Sea came to be called (i.e., those of Cornwall and Devon) were completely severed from their kinsmen" (in Wales). M. Loth indeed seems to be inclined to fix the date of this separation at a later time, the beginning of the seventh century (for linguistic reasons, which however are hardly fit to decide a political question). But even then, can M. Loth seriously think that the Prose Tristan alone, i.e., the latest and most corrupt version, to which he himself gives otherwise so little credit (cf. my quotations *supra*), should have preserved the memory of such an early epoch? And, taking Leonois as meaning the district of Caerlleon on the Usk, how could we explain the emphasized assertion of the Prose Romance

that Leonois as well as Cornouaille was dependent on the kings of France? Surely no fact in history corroborates this assertion, nor was there any apparent reason for inventing it. And was the district of Caerleon (the place itself is at a considerable distance from the frontier of Dumnonia) ever a political unit that might have been called by the Norman French *Leonois* and treated by legend as a kingdom? Caerleon belonged to the province of Morgannwg (Glamorgan), which was a kingdom, and to its subdivision Gwent, which was also a kingdom, and to Gwent Iscoed, one of the two cantrefws (=tribal areas, rendered into Medieval Latin by *pagi*) which composed the kingdom of Gwent. Caerleon was not even the chief place of its cantref or *pagus*, much less of the larger divisions to which it belonged. This refers to the period of about 650 to 850,¹ but did not change essentially until the Norman conquest of Wales. Caerleon was important only in the Roman period (Lloyd, pp. 62, 76); (as a military place: fort of the legion); afterward it acquired only a certain ecclesiastical, but no political importance;² in the twelfth century it was a Norman castle and *seigneurie* (cf. Lloyd pp. 395, 396, 507, etc.). The pseudo-historic Arthurian literature, above all Geoffrey's *Historia*, makes a distinction only between *Demetia-Demeti* and *Venedotia-Venedoti* (cf. *Historia*, IX, 12: *Caduallo Lewirh rex Venedotorum qui nunc Nortqualenses dicuntur; Sater, rex Demetorum id est Suthqualensium*). *Demetia-Dyfed* (French *Susgales*) had various meanings according to the epoch (cf. Lloyd, pp. 38, 260 ff.). "At one time men spoke loosely of the whole land to the north of the Bristol Channel as Demetia"; in later times the name is given only to the southwestern peninsula of Wales (not to Morgannwg). Nowhere in the history of Wales is the name of *Leonois* or anything corresponding (such as *pagus Leonensis*) found, nor may it be expected to have existed as the name of a political unit. If Caerleon was meant, I should also be surprised to find in the Prose Tristan only the spelling *Leonois* (besides *Loenois*, *Loonois*), never *Lionois* (except in the translations which are themselves responsible

¹ Cf. John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2d ed., London, 1912, particularly pp. 273-79 and the map in Vol. II.

² But the archbishopric of Caerleon is an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. Lloyd, pp. 147, 486).

for it), while the pretended etymon Caerlleon always was in French *Carlion* (Norman variant *Carliun*, accidental variants *Cuerlion* and *Carloon*, cf. *infra*), just as Old French *leon* (Latin *leonem*) gave way at an early time to the common form *lion*. I may observe that also in the Latin historical documents (they may have been written by Anglo-Norman scribes) no other forms but those with *i* (*Carlion*, *Carliun*, and the like) seem to occur (cf. the footnotes in Lloyd, pp. 478 507, 601, 653). Even in Early Welsh texts the forms with *i(y)* (such as *Kaer Llion*) seem to have been more frequent than those with *e*.¹ Professor Lloyd (p. 76) speaks even of the Welsh name of *Caerllion*, which English tongues have turned into *Caerleon*.² To be sure, French tongues would never have spoken or French pens would never have written anything else but (*Car*)*lioneis(-ois)*, (*Car*)*liuneis(-ois)*, forms that do not seem to occur in the Prose Tristan.

I am not surprised that M. Loth (after having discussed Thomas' Ermenie) refers the reader (p. 90) to two passages that prima facie appear to confirm his explanation of *Leonois* in the Prose Tristan. He could find them together in M. Ferdinand Lot's *Études sur la provenance du cycle arthurien* (in *Romania*, XXV, 16, n. 2), Professor W. Golther's *Bemerkungen zur Sage und Dichtung von Tristan and Isolde* (in *Zeitschrift für französ. Sprache*, XXII, 2), as well as in the same scholar's book *Tristan und Isolde* (Leipzig, 1907, p. 16), and in Bédier, II, 121. One of the passages is in the Berol fragment. Tristan, who, disguised as a leper, came to the gathering at the *Mal Pas*, asks King Marc for charity. The latter wants to know: *Dom es tu, ladres*, and Tristan answers: *De Carloon, filz d'un Galois* (vss. 3761 f.). The other passage is in the Tristan lay *Chievrefoil* by Marie de France,

¹ Cf. J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Index; Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys, *The Book of Llandas*, Oxford, 1893, Index; Strachan, *An introduction to Early Welsh*, Manchester, 1909, pp. 150/7; 160/27; 161/25 (translation of Geoffrey's *Historia*, Robert Williams, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS*, Vol. I, *Y Seint Greal*, London, 1876, p. 174 (translation of the Perlesvaus). It is curious that the forms *Kaer Llion* and *Kaer Lleon* were used in Early Welsh to distinguish Carleon-on-the-Usk from Chester, which also was a fort or town of the legion(s); cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 2d ed., p. 276 (in a triad that seems to be based on Nennius, § 76) and Strachan, *loc. cit.*, p. 161, in the Welsh Brut, where Geoffrey, *Historia*, IX, 12: *ex Urbe Legionum Dubricius* and *Jugein ex Legecestria* are rendered *Dyfric arche-scop Kaer Llion ar Wysc* *Owein o Gaer Lleon* (confusion of Leicester and Chester).

² I do not grasp the exact meaning of this remark or doubt if it is appropriate. If Professor Lloyd was thinking of the Modern English pronunciation of *ē*, he is wrong; for the latter does not go back to medieval times.

who says of Tristan: *En sa cuntree en est alez, En Suhtwales u il fu nez* (vss. 15 f.). M. F. Lot remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 16): *Pour Bérout et pour Marie de France, Tristan est un Gallois du Sud, de Carlion*.¹ He does not say how this tradition, which he does not consider as original, arose. He does not pretend that the two writers had taken Leonois in the sense of district of Carleon in South Wales. Not even M. J. Loth makes this assertion, but, since he is inclined to consider South Wales as the original home of Tristan, he seems to prefer to use the two passages as independent evidence proving, together with the Prose Romance, this view. Professor Golther, however, who holds that Tristan's home was in Pictish Scotland, expressly says that *Loonois* or *Leonois* was interpreted as *Caer-Leon* in Wales by Berol and Marie de France.² M. Bédier gives another explanation: *le point de départ de l'invention qui fait de Tristan un Gallois de Carloon, c'est un jeu de mots sur Carloon, Loonois. ... Quelqu'un a donc identifié Carloon avec le Loonois, et qui pouvait faire ce jeu de mots, sinon un Anglo-Normand? Carloon est une forme anglo-normande et n'est pas une forme galloise.*

The Carloon passage belongs to that portion of the fragment which the editor assigns to a continuator of Berol.³ It forms part of the ordeal incident.⁴ Another version of this incident is found in Thomas, but it differs very much and does not contain anything corresponding to the Carloon passage.

We must not forget that the answer Tristan gives to Marc cannot be a straightforward one, the truth of which there is no reason to suspect; for Tristan was in disguise and had the most potent reasons

¹ M. Bédier (*loc cit.*), agreeing with M. Lot's statement, adds: *Et cette invention, dit M. Ferdinand Lot, ne peut être que le fait d'un Gallois; cette idée de revendiquer Tristan pour le pays de Galles n'a pu venir qu'à des Gallois.* I do not see that M. Lot made this illogical assertion.

² Also by the Welsh? He says: *Die Kymren dachten zunächst an Süd-wales.* How could this be possible? If the Tristan saga was imported into Wales from the north by Celtic transmission, which evidently is the natural assumption, the Welsh certainly did not hear of *Leonois* (which is French) nor of any name that might have suggested Carleon as the name of Tristan's home. And what Welsh texts are there that represent Tristan as a native of South Wales?

³ I must say that I was not convinced by M. Muret's arguments for his postulate of a continuator of Berol; for contradictions exist not only between the two portions he distinguished, but also within each of these. We are in the presence of an unusually corrupt text; but its contradictions are best explained as caused by interpolations and retouchings on the part of scribes (cf. Professor Golther's arguments in favor of a similar view: *Tristan und Isolde*, pp. 103 ff.).

⁴ Cf. Miss Schoepperle, pp. 223 ff., as to its oriental origin.

for concealing his identity from the king. Never could he have ventured to say he was the son of King Rivalin of Loenois, as he probably was in Berol's version (cf. *supra*). M. F. Lot seems to have been aware of this, for he remarks: *Noter que ce qui fait le piquant des répliques de Tristan à Marc dans ses divers déguisements c'est qu'il ne lui répond jamais que la vérité* (*Romania*, XXV, 16). M. Bédier repeats this (II, 121); but it is wrong nevertheless. Let us have a look at the *Folie*, which is strikingly similar to our ordeal incident (as the editor of Berol observed, p. xxi) and may have been its model since it is far more original in character. In the Berol version (vss. 159 ff.) Tristan says in answer to Marc's questions concerning his name and parentage that he was called Picol, his father was a walrus, his mother a whale, and he had a sister called Bruneheut: as many lies as assertions. But then, after having thus led the king on the wrong scent, he impudently goes on telling a great many very compromising truths, often using very plain language and despising covert allusions; he even ventures to say: *Don ne sanble je bien Tantris?* (vs. 183), while the Oxford version makes him say still more bluntly: *Jo sui Trantris ki tant l'amai* (vs. 317). Now, for outspokenness a fool's disguise was much safer than a leper's. Evidently it was important for the leper still more than for the fool to bewilder Marc above all by the first answer, by the answer to the inquiry concerning his home and extraction. Therefore I think that Tristan's answer that he was *De Carloon, filz d'un Galois*, was meant to be a positive lie,¹ just as the assertion, which, immediately before, he had addressed to King Marc's guest, King Arthur: *Povre est mon pere, n'out ainz terre* (vs. 3721), was an evident lie. After having put King Marc on the wrong track, Tristan could venture to say some truths that could hardly betray him: that he had been three years *fors de gent* (vs. 3763; it is the period which he spent as an outlaw in the *forest de Morois*), that, before he was a leper, he had a *cortoise amie* (3766), that *pour lié* (3767) he has got his illness (i.e., in reality that for her

¹ Similarly in the Prose Tristan the hero, being at the court of the king of Ireland whose brother-in-law he had killed, *dit qu'il est un chevalier de Logres des environs de la cité de Camaaloth* (Löseth, § 29); i.e., he told a lie; a few copyists (or the one of their common source) not seeing the reason for the lie, corrected Tristan's answer, making him say the truth, viz., that he was *un chevalier de Léonois, près d'Albine* (Löseth, p. 21, n. 4, p. 467 n.), Albine being a royal residence in Leonois as Camaaloth is in Logres. The correction yielded nonsense.

sake he had disguised himself as a leper; cf. in the Oxford *Folie*, vss. 315-16:

Reis, fet li fols, mult aim Ysolt:
Pur lu mis quers se pleint e dolt.)

But surely neither M. Lot nor M. Bédier can deny that Tristan is again telling lies, when he impudently affirms:

Dans rois, ses sires ert meseaus;
O lié faisoie mes joiaus:
Cist maus me prist de la comune [vss. 3775 ff.].

Therefore, at least the possibility that Tristan's first answer is an intentional lie cannot be denied; but I think, considering the circumstance here mentioned, it is not only possible, but extremely probable. Would it be natural that a lie would take the particular form we find in our text? Obviously the leper's answer could not be grotesque as the fool's, nor did the author of the ordeal narrative dispose of the poetical fancy that distinguished the author of the *Folie*. The leper's lies are dry prose, but they are the result of reflection. It is evident that a leper and beggar, son of a poor man, as Tristan pretended to be, could not have come from very far to a festival in Cornwall (Iseut's ordeal is here treated as a festival). So his home must have been either in Cornwall or in a place near at hand in one of the neighboring countries. But Cornwall was excluded for another reason; for, since people had come together from all parts of Cornwall (cf. vs. 3273: *Tuit i soient, et povere et riche*), the genuineness of the leper might easily have been suspected, if he had mentioned a place in Cornwall as his home. The neighboring countries were in Arthurian nomenclature (and, in fact, our incident is Arthurian, which, by the way, is also an argument for its unoriginal character) *Gales* and *Logres* (England). Thus, Tristan had practically no other choice but to mention as his home a place in Gales or Logres that was not very far distant from Cornwall. In Gales no place more easily presented itself to one's mind than Carlion in South Wales; nay, a French author hardly knew any other place in this country; but Carlion was known to everybody. While Cornish people were obliged to be present at the ordeal (cf. vss. 3274 ff.), there was no reason to think that many spectators from Gales or Logres would be there, except King Arthur

and his noble knights who could not know every beggar of their country. Therefore Tristan's answer, taken as a lie, is quite natural.

Taken as a truth, it would be unnatural; for it would flatly contradict what Berol must have asserted at the beginning of the romance: that Tristan was the king's son, of Loenois. Even a continuator could not have overlooked such an important feature. Besides, if Tristan spoke the truth, without any necessity (for truthfulness was not a habit of Tristan's; cf. in this very incident vs. 3816: *Oiez du ladre com' il ment!*), he would have been represented as a fool, since he would have aroused Marc's suspicion to no purpose, not even for the sake of a joke.

Thus practically no other interpretation of Tristan's answer is possible, except that it was meant to be a lie. In this case, however, it is of no value for the question as to what was Tristan's real home.

If the author of the ordeal incident chose Carlion as the leper's home for the reasons assumed above, he did not choose it because it was suggested by Loenois, the real home of Tristan in the Berol version. Indeed, I cannot see how two names as different as *Carlion* and *Loenois* should ever have attracted each other or suggested kinship, unless they were already brought into close relations for some other reason. I grant that the forms *Carleon* and *Leonois* or *Carlion* and *Lionoiois* might be thought to have been akin; but such a couple never occurs in a text. At best the forms *Carlion* and *Leonois*, which we find in the Prose Tristan, virtually might attract each other, but actually they did not. Does Professor Golther believe that Marie de France¹ knew the names of Tristan's native country in the form *Lionoiois* or at least *Leonois*, a form which, as we have seen, is corrupt and is peculiar to the Prose Tristan? Does he think that the author made use of an early version of the Prose Tristan or of its verse original, if the latter already knew the alteration of *Loenois* into *Leonois*, which is extremely doubtful? Surely he would stand on very unsafe ground with such assumptions. Now, as regards the Berol fragment, which, in our passage uses the form *Carloon*, it might be said that we need not have recourse to the form *Lionoiois* or

¹ She uses the common form *Karlion* (Yonec) if we may trust the MSS. The editor's explanation in the Index of Names, *das heutige Chester*, is wrong; *la feste Seint Aaron*, Yonec, vii. 473, clearly shows that Carleon on the Usk is meant.

Leonois, but that *Loenois* or its variant *Loonois* would do. Let us therefore inspect the form *Carloon* more closely! M. J. Loth observes in a footnote (p. 89): *Il faut remarquer qu'on a non seulement Carleon et Carlyon mais aussi Carloon*. The learned Celtic scholar here seems to refer to French texts, since he connects the note with *Loonois*, a French form. But as far as I know, *Carleon* never occurs in French texts, *Carloon* only in the one passage that is here under discussion, while *Carlyon*, only to be found in MSS of the fifteenth century, is merely a graphical variant of the common French form *Carlion*. I am sure that M. Loth cannot produce any instances of French *Carleon* or any others of *Carloon*. Also M. Bédier's statement (quoted above) that *Carloon* is an Anglo-Norman form was made at random. *Carloon* is found only in our passage. Its author, *le continuateur anonyme de Bérout ... était Normand* (i.e., Continental Norman!), says M. Bédier himself (II, 120) in accordance with the editor, M. Muret. The change of *i* into *o* before a stressed *o* is unknown to Anglo-Norman as well as to other French dialects, while an assimilation of *e* to a following stressed *o* (here excluded because *Carleon* was not a French form) is not peculiar to any special dialect. How, then, can *Carloon* be proved to be an Anglo-Norman form? In the Berol fragment the name of the town occurs once more, even within the ordeal incident: the messenger, sent to invite King Arthur to be present at the ordeal, seeks him first at *Cuerlion* (3372). This form, too, is unique. The forms *Cuerlion* and *Carloon* seem to show that the author knew the common French form *Carlion*, since its first element is preserved in the one instance, the second element in the other instance. It is therefore likely that *Carlion* was the form used by the author and that it has been altered by scribes, maybe by one and the same person. In changing *Car* to *Cuer*, the scribe seems to have attempted popular etymology.¹ He had no reason to write *Cuerloon*, since in this case the new *o* would have cancelled that etymological pun. But *Carloon* is also an artificial form and is likely to owe its origin to another play upon words. Can it be a mere

¹ *Cuer de lion* was well known as the surname of the English King Richard I. In one part of Brittany *car* was turned into *ker*, which Frenchmen might have written *quer*, then *cuer*. But surely this explanation would be too complicated and not suitable for a place that was known to be *en Gales*.

hazard that the unique and from a linguistical point of view impossible form *Carloon* is used just in a passage, in which a person, whose native country in the same text was *Loenois* (variant *Loonois*), pretends to be a native of *Carlion*, here called *Carloon*? I agree with M. Bédier that we have here *un jeu de mots*, but, considering what I have said above, I cannot admit that it was *le point de départ qui fait de Tristan un Gallois de Carloon*. I say, on the contrary, that this pun, probably meant to identify *Loenois* with the region of *Carlion*, was made possible only after *Loenois* and *Carlion* were brought together with the same meaning, namely, Tristan's home, and were equated according to the axiom: "Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another." But this equation, though formally correct, is materially erroneous, because one of the premises, namely, that *Carlion* is Tristan's home, is not true and was not meant by the author to be taken as true. Therefore it was not the author that made the pun, that changed *Carlion* into *Carloon*, nor did he find this form anywhere else; the man who made the pun must have been one who misunderstood the author's text, clear though it was,¹ who took a lie as a truth, therefore a copyist.² It was probably the same stupid person who first amused himself by turning *Carlion* into *Cuerlion*, who in one place changed *Loenois* into *Orlenois*, because it was joined to *Bretaigne*, which he (probably wrongly) identified with Brittany, and who may have tampered with the text he misunderstood in a great many other places and may be responsible for most of the corruptions that now bar the understanding of this text. It is quite possible that in the complete Berol text there was to be found besides *Loenois* the later variant *Loonois*; but my explanation holds good also, if *Loenois* was the only form used. M. Bédier seems to think that only an Anglo-Norman was capable of making the *jeu de mots*, because only an Anglo-Norman would know, thanks to Wace and other chroniclers, that *caer* meant "town"; but I think that a Continental man might also have had this knowledge owing both to

¹ It was specially clear when it was complete, because in the beginning there must have been a clear statement that Tristan's home was *Loenois*, so that, when afterward the leper says he was *de Carlion, fils d'un Galois*, everybody recognized that this was a lie.

² Compare the analogous misunderstanding on the part of a copyist in the Prose Romance mentioned above.

Wace and to the numerous Breton place-names beginning with *caer* and *ker*, and that this knowledge was not even necessary since the equation mentioned above could be deduced by one who did not know the meaning of *car*. But we may go farther and assert that an Anglo-Norman would have known the real meaning of *Loenois* (cf. *infra*) and would thereby have been prevented from identifying it with the region of *Carlion* and might have been impelled to discover the cause of his error. So the silly scribe was not an Anglo-Norman; nor are there characteristic features of the Anglo-Norman dialect and versification in our fragment.

Marie's testimony in the *Chievrefoil* may be of greater value than the Carloon passages in the Berol fragment; but it admits of different explanations. The author says in her Introduction:

Plusur le (scil. lai) m'unt cunté e dit
 E ieo l'ai trové en escrit
 De Tristram e de la reine,
 De lur amur qui tant fu fine,
 Dunt il ourent meinte dolur;
 Puis en mururent en un jur [vss. 5-10].

She refers here both to an oral and to a written source. The latter evidently was a complete romance, since it seems to have reported the whole story of the lovers until their death. The oral source may have contained a separate account of the *chievrefoil* incident; but the facts proved by Miss Schoepperle in two of the most interesting chapters of her book (pp. 138 ff., 301 ff.), that this incident has parallels in our versions of the Tristan romance, that it has a Celtic source and that Marie's version comes nearest to the latter, seem to show that the incident once formed part of the *poème primitif*. Probably it has been detached from the latter, as was the case with a number of other Tristan episodes; and it happened that the severed form which Marie has transmitted to us has preserved the original features better than our versions of the whole *poème primitif*.¹

Marie seems to have used her written source, the complete romance, merely for the purpose of showing how the incident fitted

¹ The same may be said *mutatis mutandis* of the *Polie Tristan*.

into the story. But I suspect she has assigned to it a wrong place in the sequence of events; at least the place she assigned to it is not the one its equivalents occupy in the extant versions of the romance. She makes the following remark:

Li reis Mars esteit curuciez,
 Vers Tristram, sun nevu, iriez;
 De sa terre le cuncea
 Pur la rèine qu'il ama.
 En sa cuntree en est alez,
 En Suhtwales u il fu nez [vss. 11-16].

The few indications which we find in this lay seem to make it probable that Suhtwales was Tristan's home in the written source and that the latter was the version of Thomas, not the Vulgate. Iseut's maid is called *Brenquein* (vs. 90). The original form of this name, preserved by the Vulgate group, had an *a* in the first syllable (exception: Berol), while *e* (turned into *i* in the Norse and partly in the English translation) is characteristic for Thomas and the texts influenced by him (Oxford *Folie*). The unoriginal form *Tristram* (vss. 7, 12, etc.), *Tristan* too, was perhaps originally used only by Thomas, but has been introduced by copyists also into Eilhart-Berol. King Marc's residence is *Tintagel* (vs. 39). The Berol version substituted for it *Lancien*. The facts mentioned hitherto are not conclusive, but I should say that the mild expression *cuncea* (vs. 13) quoted above, could not have stood in a Vulgate version nor in the *poème primitif*, but is characteristic of the alterations Thomas had undertaken. Thomas alone represents the relations between King Marc and the lovers as remaining friendly in spite of all. When King Marc's jealousy was first aroused, he said to his wife, wishing to put her to the test, that during his absence he would send Tristan "into other countries" (Saga, LIII), to "Parmenie" (his native country: Gottfried, vs. 14067; nothing in the English version; cf. Bédier, I, 188). In the fountain episode Tristan, knowing that he was heard by Marc sitting on the tree, says he is determined to leave the country (English version, vs. 2139; confirmed by Eilhart; Bédier, I, 201). The *Tavola Ritonda*, here representing Thomas, makes him say: *io mi voglio ritornare nella Petitta Brettagna*: Bédier,

I, 202 (his home Ermenie was, according to Thomas, in or near Brittany; cf. *supra*). After the flour incident, which in the Vulgate ended with Tristan being made a prisoner and sentenced to death, he was in the Thomas version only *de la curt chascé* (thus in the Oxford *Folie*, vs. 756, missing in the translations of Thomas, cf. Bédier, I, 208, n. 3). Then follows in Thomas (not in the Vulgate) Isolt's ordeal, in which incident Tristan, disguised, took part. Though his and Isolt's "innocence" was proved, Tristan did not return to court. Here the Icelandic text goes on as follows:

En er Tristram . . . var farinn burt af konungs ríki, ok skildu þeir með reiði, konungr ok hann, ok þjonaði Tristram því næst hertuga einum yfir Polisríki (c. LXI).

The English version briefly says (vss. 2293 f.): "Tristrem . . . into Wales he is." Gottfried has the following passage (vss. 15769 ff.):

Tristan, Isolde cumpanjun,
Do er si ze Karliun¹
Haete getragen an daz stat
Und geleistet, des si in bat,
Er fuor des selben males
Von Engelant ze Swales
Ze dem herzogen Gilane.

Surely the country to which he now went, and from which he afterward sent the dog Petitcreu to Iseut, was not *Polisríki* (Poland), but *Gales*. Tristan had left Cornwall, because King Marc had been *curuciez* (= Saga: *með reiði*) and had him *de la court chascé*. I think that if, instead of the allusion in the Oxford *Folie*, we had Thomas' own words or at least their Norse or German or English translation, we should have the milder expression *cungeé* instead of *chascé*, or at least the banishment was such a mild one that it was practically equivalent to giving *congié*. For, when after the *Petitcreu* incident Tristan returned to Marc's court and was again suspected to be guilty of adultery, he, together with Iseut, was banished once more and then the king, according to Gottfried, says to the lovers: He would be justified in having both of them killed, but he did not

¹ In Thomas, Marc being ruler over Great Britain, the ordeal took place at Carillon.

want to do them any harm; since they loved each other more than him,

So weset ouch beide ein ander bi,
 Als iu ze muote gestê!
 Durch mine vorhte lat nimê! ...
 Nemet ein ander an die hant
 Und rumet mir hof unde lant [vss. 16600 ff.].

And in the allusion of the Oxford *Folie* we actually find this time *cunjeiez* as a synonym by the side of *chascez* (vss. 859 ff.; cf. also Bédier, I, 232 f.):

Quant Markes nous ot cunjeiez
 E de la curt nus out chascez,
 As mains ensemble nus prêmes
 E hors de la sale en eissimes.

Surely this *cunjeier* may also be transferred as a synonym to the first banishment, the one that immediately preceded the ordeal; and I should think that this was the place Marie had in mind. Among the Vulgate versions in which Marc is not so magnanimous and in which we do not find nor can expect to find the expression *cuncea*, only Berol (or his continuator) makes the lovers flee to Gales, but not directly from Marc's court. After the lovers had made their escape from the stake (not been banished!) and passed three or four years in the *forest de Morois* (here supposed to be in Cornwall), they were discovered by King Marc, but spared. Now, according to Eilhart, they fled to a desert place (evidently in the same forest), near the hermitage of Ugrim (vss. 4683 ff.). In Berol, however, Tristan proposes:

Dame, fuion nos en vers Gales! [vs. 2099]

This they did:

Morrois trespassent, si s'en vont;
 Grans jornees par poor font;
 Droit vers Gales s'en sont alé [vss. 2129 ff.]

Evidently, this situation could not have suited Marie's purpose, since her narrative postulates that only Tristan was banished, while Iseut remained at court. Neither Berol nor Thomas intimate that Gales was Tristan's native country: Gales was evidently chosen by

both authors as a country situated near Cornwall. But in Thomas, in the incidents preceding Tristan's departure for Gales, whenever there was question of Tristan's leaving Cornwall (once in Marc's speech, once in Tristan's), his native country (*Parmenie, la Petitta Brettagna*) was thought of as the goal of his journey. Suppose that Thomas' text had twice stated that Tristan was to go to his native country without giving a name and then actually made him go to Gales: might not Marie, if she only glanced over a portion of the text, have thought that Gales was his native country or was identical with Ermenie?¹ Marie gives *Suhtwales*. It may have been an inference of her own, that *Suhtwales*, which was nearest to Cornwall, was that part of Gales to which Tristan retired. Perhaps, however, the strange and obviously corrupt form *Swales*, transmitted by Gottfried, is a contraction of *Suswales* (cf. Wace's Brut: *Suthgalois. Surgalois, Susgales, Surgales*; Sommer's Index to *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*: *Sorgales, Sugales*, English translation *South Wales*).

This is one explanation of Marie's testimony. If Marie had read the Carloon passage of Berol (with the original form Carlion) and overlooked the beginning of the romance, she might, taking the leper's answer as serious, have thought that Tristan was a native of South Wales. She may have read the ordeal incident both in Thomas and Berol;² for both authors connect the Gales passage with the ordeal incident.

These explanations, I think, are possible. But it is also possible that Marie, in declaring South Wales to be Tristan's home, follows a tradition not otherwise represented in the extant texts and that I cannot account for. Anyhow there is not the slightest indication that we are bound to suppose that Marie found Leonois to be Tristan's home and identified it with the district of Carleon in South Wales.

We have seen that the Carloon passage in Berol does not postulate such a supposition either. All that it seems to show—and that is quite a different thing—is, that a copyist, misunderstanding the

¹ Wales is called *Armonia* in a *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cf. M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, I, 180.

² The dates of the texts cannot be fixed, but Marie may have known Thomas and Berol.

text, and putting side by side in his mind two statements he read in his text (that Tristan was a native of Loenois and pretended to be a native of Carlion in Wales), apparently identified Carlion with Loenois, and, to make this comprehensible, altered Carlion into Carloon.

Thus the view that Leonois in the Prose Tristan was meant to be the district of Carlion is not supported by any other instance, and, considering the arguments adduced above, may be dismissed as purely fantastical. I may add that of the scholars who specially drew the attention of their readers to the passages in Berol and Marie, neither M. F. Lot nor Professor Golther explained Leonois in the Prose Tristan as the district of Carleon, while M. Bédier did not discuss the question. M. J. Loth stands alone in taking this view.

Now, as is generally known, there actually was and is a region called *Leonois*, and this region bordered on another region that was and is called *Cornouaille*. The two regions together with part of Tréguier now form the *département de Finistère*, in Brittany. The Breton region *Leonois*, the capital of which is *Saint Pol de Léon*, was in the Middle Ages a political and ecclesiastical unit, a diocese and a viscounty or county. As early as the year 884 we find in the *Vita S. Pauli Aureliani* a life of the patron saint and first bishop of this diocese, written by a Breton monk, that the region was called *pagus Leonensis*,¹ whence French *Leonois*. A certain *Guihomarcus vicecomes Leonensis*² has become the hero of the lay *Guigemar* by Marie de France and is also known in Arthurian romances as *Guiomar*, etc. Marie calls him son of *Eridiaus (Oridiaus)*,³ *sire de Liun* (vs. 30).

In the prose *Melusine* by Jehan d'Arras a baron is mentioned whose name is *Henry de Leon*; he was a Breton, a brother of *Alain de Quemegnigant* (pp. 75, 86). In Türlin's *Crone* (vs. 369) *Liuns* is mentioned as one of King Arthur's dominions, together with *Cor-*

¹ Cf. quotations in Aurélien de Courson, *Ca. tulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*, Paris, 1863, p. clxxvii, or H. Zimmer in *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr.*, XIII, 79.

² Personages of this name and dignity, mentioned in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are collected by H. Zimmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

³ Cf. the Breton name *Hetvedoi*, *Hirbidoe*, *Hirdvidoe*, *Hirvidoe*, in A. de Courson, *op. cit.* (Index). Perhaps there was a confusion between this name and the name *(H)æw-wiu*; for we find in a chronicle ad a. 1167: *Guihumarus filius Hervei vicecomitis Leonensis*, and ad a. 1168: *mortuus est in Britannia Herveus de Lahun, cui successit Guihomar filius ejus* (Zimmer, p. 9).

noaille, *Tintaguè*, *Jascon* (= Gascogne), *Gisors*, etc. Gerbert in his continuation of the Grail (VI, 207) mentions the bishop of *Saint Pol de Lion*. In the chanson de geste *Aiquin* three barons de Leon (*Coneyn*, *Richardel*, *Guion*) are mentioned (vss. 64-65), in *Girart de Rossillon* one *Bernart de Leonais* (sec. 232, according to Langlois' *Table*), in *Aye d'Avignon* (p. 3) a *Bertren de Lëun*. In the chanson *Aigar et Maurin* (mixture of Provençal and French) *Rainers de Looneis* (vs. 68) or simply *lo Leoneis* (1320) is no doubt a Breton (cf. Brossmer's edition, p. 17).

Quimper-Corentin, the capital of *Cornouaille*, is now and then mentioned in Arthurian literature.¹

The Tristan legend itself has been localized in *Cornouaille*. It was in a monastery of this province that the above-mentioned *Vita S. Pauli* was composed, in which we find the earliest record of the famous March, *King of Cornwall*. The Midas story, transferred to King Marc in the Berol fragment, is still told in *Cornouaille* of *le roi (de) Portzmarch* (now *Plomarc'h*); cf. J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 485 and especially *Contributions*, pp. 108 ff.; Sébillot, *Folklore de France*, III, 431 f.

Off the coast of *Cornouaille* is situated the *Isle Tristan*, called *Insula Trestanni* in a charter dated 1368 to be found in the *Cartulaire de Quimper*,² and *Insula Tristani* in a document of 1574 (cf. Peyron's edition of the *Cartulaire*, p. 41).³

¹ In the Prose Lancelot (I, 300, 418; II, 391, III, 131), *Campercorentin* (*Carparentin*, etc.) is one of King Arthur's residences in Great Britain, and *la forest de Campa(r)corenti(n)* (III, 225) seems to have been near it. In a portion of the Prose Tristan which was borrowed from the pseudo-Robert Lancelot and in a redaction of Palamedes *Quempercorentin-Campercorretin* is also a residence of King Arthur's, situated, as it seems, in Great Britain (Löseth, §§ 307, 631a). *Aces de Campercorentin* (variant: *de Biaumont*), one of the knights of the Round Table, mentioned in the Vulgate Merlin-Continuation (e.g., p. 196) may have been a native of this town, which in the Lancelot is thought to be in Great Britain (Scotland). While staying in Logres, King Arthur made the acquaintance of the damsel *Lisanor*, *filie al conte Sevain* (Norse *Sveinn*?), *qui mors estoit, dou castel nes c'on apeloit Canparcorentin* (Vulgate Merlin-Continuation, p. 124); she bore him Lohot. In the *Wigalois*, *Korentin* is the name of a kingdom, also situated in Great Britain. M. F. Lot (*Lancelot*, p. 148, n. 6) may be right in deriving the name of King *Cabarentin*, *Carbarecotin*, *Carpercotin* de *Cornouaille*, mentioned in the *Lancelot* and the *Mort Artu*, from the name of the capital of *Cornouaille*.

² In 1892 M. Loth still admitted: *De ces faits, il résulte donc clairement que les traditions bretonnes implantées en Armorique ont eu une part assez importante, plus considérable qu'on ne le suppose, dans la composition des romans arthuriens* (*Rev. Celt.*, XIII, 485). In the *Contributions* (p. 107) he declares that *la part des Bretons, vivant en Armorique* is *à peu près nulle*.

³ In a recent paper (*Rom.*, XLVI, 38 f.), M. F. Lot tried to prove that the *Isle Tristan* was of no value for the question of the origin of the Tristan legend or romance.

A place called *Penmarch*, situated near the *Baie d'Audierne* (Cornouaille), once an important town and harbor, is mentioned in the *Prose Berol* (Löseth, § 544a, Bédier, II, 388) as the port where the wounded Tristan, before his death, had the ships watched, hoping that one of them would bring Iseut.

Off the coast of the neighboring province *Leonois* itself, on the islands *Molènes* and *Ouessant*, the tale about the signal of the sail and the fatal error is popular (cf. J. Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXVII, *Contribution XIII: La voile blanche et la voile noire à l'île Molènes*). The same story was popular in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland; cf. my article "Zum Tristan-Roman" in *Herrig's Archiv f. d. Stud. d. n. Sprachen*, CXXX, 124 ff.

There can be no reasonable doubt that in the *Prose Tristan* *Cornouaille* and *Leonois* are said to be and are treated as adjacent kingdoms, because they were confounded with the Breton provinces that bore these names. This confusion is generally admitted by scholars. M. F. Lot even goes so far as to say (*Rom.*, XXV, 25): *dans le roman en prose, Tristan et son père règnent sur le pays de Léon en Basse-Bretagne*, and Professor Golther (*Tristan u. Isolde*, p. 16) is equally definite. This is going from one extreme to another. We are justified only in speaking as did M. Muret (*Rom.*, XXVII, 609)

For jusque vers le milieu du XIV^e siècle, elle s'appelait *Insula sancti Tutguarni* ou *Tutuarni*. ... C'est en 1368 qu'apparaît pour la première fois le nom de *Tristan* et c'est seulement au XVI^e siècle qu'il a supplanté définitivement l'antique et méprisé *Tutuarn*. To my mind this argument is illogical. Of course nobody can affirm that the island was called after Tristan previous to 1368; but we are no doubt as little justified in denying this; nor does the document of 1574 prove that the definite supremacy of the name *Insula Tristani* was not earlier than the sixteenth century. If in M. Lot's mind the island had two names from 1368 to the sixteenth century, what should preclude the possibility that it had two names long before 1368? It seems likely that Saint *Tutuarn* had given his name chiefly to the priory and *Tristan* to the island (the heading of the paper by Bourde de la Rogerie, to which M. Lot referred, speaks in favor of this view: *Le prieuré de saint Tutuarn ou de l'île Tristan*; I cannot consult this paper), and that in the Middle Ages the former was chiefly used in ecclesiastical, the latter in secular documents. If M. F. Lot, who no doubt has read M. J. Loth's *Contributions*, had not forgotten the following passage, he could hardly have written his note, in which the *Contributions* are not referred to: *L'île Trestan ... ne peut avoir une origine savante: on eût eu "Tristan." C'est en vain qu'on ferait remarquer que le nom le plus anciennement connu est l'île de Saint-Tutuarn. Il arrive fréquemment (il y en a notamment en Cornuall de nombreux exemples) qu'un lieu ait eu deux noms: un nom religieux et un nom laïque. Tutuarn était le nom du prieuré, Trestan, sans doute, le nom de l'île entière. Nulle part la légende de "March" aux oreilles de "march" (cheval) n'est aussi répandue que dans notre Finistère, et particulièrement dans le voisinage de "l'île Trestan" (p. 108).* The fourteenth century was of no account for the development of the *Tristan* legend or romance, whether in France or in Brittany. Why then should it have been the epoch when *Tristan* was introduced into the topography of Brittany?

and Dr. W. Röttiger (*op. cit.*, p. 3), of a confusion of British with Continental geography. To this confusion we evidently owe the vicinity of the kingdoms Leonois (Loenois) and Cornouaille in the Prose Tristan, which is not confirmed, nay is even contradicted by the other versions, as well as the close relations of Leonois (Loenois) and Cornouaille to Gaule (France) which are emphasized in the Prose Tristan (cf. *supra*) and are unknown to the other versions. Never were Cornwall or South Wales dependencies of France either in history or in legend;¹ but the provinces of Brittany were often more or less subject to the Frankish kings of the Merovingian dynasty. The marriage of Tristan's father to a daughter of King Hoel of Brittany (§ 22), Tristan's stay at the court of the French King Pharamond (§ 24), Govenal being a native of France (§ 20),² the French saint Denis freeing Cornouaille and Logres from the giants (§ 10): all these traits owe their existence to the confusion of Cornouaille and Loenois in Great Britain with Cornouaille and Leonois in Brittany. No doubt, the original Prose Tristan or its source agreed with the other versions as to the situation of Cornouaille and Loenois (Leonois): then came the confusion with the Breton provinces, probably simultaneous with the introduction of the early history of the two kingdoms (Chelinde-Pelyas-Thamor, etc.).

Curiously enough, this confusion did not blot out the original situation: Cornouaille and Leonois continued to be treated as situated in Great Britain. Such a thing, incomprehensible now, was possible in the Middle Ages and is no more wonderful than Cornouaille being treated as a region of Scotland (in the Vulgate Merlin and probably in the Lancelot), Quimper Corentin as a town in Great Britain (Lancelot and Vulgate Merlin), *la forest de Broceliande* as a region in Scotland (Saint Graal), and a kingdom of *Norhumberlande* in Brittany being assumed to have existed besides *Norhumberlande* in Great Britain (Merlin, *Huth*, II, 143) and the like. The grossest case of this sort is: *Nantes en Bretaigne par devers Cornevalle, por ce que ce estoit el pais ou li Sesne conversoient* (in Great Britain!) in the Vulgate Merlin, page 127.

¹ In Arthur's time, on the contrary, the princes of France and Brittany were the vassals of the king of Britain, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

² His name, no doubt originally Celtic, might be considered as French (*governor*) and suggest French descent.

It can hardly be doubted that there was a causal connection between the substitution of *Leonois* for *Loenois* and the geographical confusion just mentioned. The redactor of the Prose Tristan, either not knowing what *Loenois* meant, substituted for it the Breton *Leonois* which he knew, or, having found in the text that he was remodeling the form *Leonois* as a variant of *Loenois*,¹ was induced thereby to think of the Breton province of this name.

M. F. Lot (*Rom.*, XXIV, 25) would find it rash to affirm *que cette transformation de Tristan en Léonard est le fait des Bretons de Léon*, merely for the reason that, *par une fatalité curieuse, le nom du pays (Léon) et celui du souverain (Rivalin) ne peuvent jamais coïncider* (more correctly: *ne coïncident jamais*). There is certainly no reason to speak of a fatality, since the Prose Tristan is the only text in which the kingdom of Tristan's father is called *Leonois*. And there can be hardly any doubt that in the source of this text, which represents the Vulgate redaction, Tristan's father was not yet called Meliadus, but Rivalin. What, however, makes it impossible that it was the Bretons who transformed Tristan *en Léonard*, and impossible too, *que l'introduction de Rivalin dans le cycle de Tristan et Iseut procède de la confusion de Loenois avec le pays de Léon*, is the fact that the Prose Tristan does not directly descend from a Breton source, but from a French source (the French *poème primitif* or a derivative of it), and that in this French source Tristan's father was already called Rivalin, his country, however, not yet *Leonois*, but *Loenois*.

¹ Substitution of a well-known name for a less well-known one of similar aspect was very frequent: cf. instances in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XXXI², 127, n. 5. But it was also possible that *Loenois* passed into *Leonois* by metathesis of vowels, although I know instances only of the reverse metathesis [eo(i) > o(i)e]: *esplumeoir* > *esplumoer* in Meraugis (cf. A. Tobler in *Zeitschrift f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, N.F., III, 417), or through the intermediate stage *Loonois*. The French town Laon, once *Laudunum* (cf. *ecclesia Laudunensis*, quoted by H. Zimmer in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XIII, 106) occurs in the chansons de geste (according to Langlois' *Table*) in the following forms: *Loon* (this is the regular development of *Laudunum*), *Loân*, *Leon*, *Leân*, *Lion*, *Laon*, and in composition with *mont*: *Loonmont*, *Monloon*, *Monleon*, *Monleân*, *Monlaon*, and the district of Laon, the *Laonnaie*, was called *Leonois*, *Loenois*, *Laonois*, *Launois*. As we find *Leon* instead of *Loon*, there is no doubt that the district could also be called *Leonois*. In two MSS of Wauchier's *Grail* we read: *Dites por l'ame au Loënois* (variant *Lodonois*) *Une paternostre trestuit* (cf. J. L. Weston, *Perceval*, I, 239). What this means, we gather from a later passage preserved in several MSS (of one group): *Cil de Loudon* (var. *Lodun*) *racontera Que ce riche romans dira* (ibid., p. 243). *Cil de Loudon* is no doubt a minstrel (cf. *Puis nous feres le vin doner!*), who was a remanieur of Bledri's Gawain compilation (intermediate between Bledri and Wauchier), not only "the original owner of the MS used by Wauchier," as Miss Weston thinks. He was a native of Loudun near Poitiers (cf. also *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XXXI,² 158), therefore a *Lodonois*. Then the latter form was confused with *Loenois*.

Therefore it must have been a Frenchman who substituted *Leonois* for *Loenois*, as M. Muret said (*Rom.*, XXVII, 609): *Je ne songe d'ailleurs pas un instant à mettre en doute que la confusion du Loonois (read rather Loenois) et du Léonnois n'ait dû se produire de bonne heure [?] dans l'esprit des Français du continent.*¹

We know what country was designated by the name *Loenois*; for we find this designation also in historical documents. It was M. F. Lot who first demonstrated that *Loenois* was the normal French (Anglo-Norman) name for the region called in English *Lothian* or *Louthian* (*Rom.*, XXV, 16-17). W. F. Skene said in his edition of the "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots" (Edinburgh, 1867, p. lxxix), that this region was originally included in the general designation *Sazonia* and that the name *Lothian* was not applied to it before 1020. In his later work "Celtic Scotland" (2d ed., Edinburgh, 1886), however, he maintains that in the second of the passages in which Bede mentions the *regio Loidis*, he meant *Lothian* (in the first Leeds), and the chronicler Florence of Worcester (twelfth century) and the chronicler of Melrose still apply to it the name *Provincia Loidis* (I, 241, with note 19, pp. 254 f.). In other historical texts and documents we find forms such as: *Louthian*, *Loudian* and more or less Latinized: *Loudonia*, *Laudonia*, *Laodonia*, *Ladonia*, *Loida*, *Loonia*, *Loina*, *Lenna* (read *Lonna*?), *Lovia* (read *Lonia*) (cf. Skene, *Chronicles*, Index, and Appendix to this paper). The forms, in which the medial dental spirant has been lost, may be due to the influence of French, in which language this change is regular. The English form was *Loðen(e)*, *Lopen(e)* (cf. the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle),² *Laudyan* (the Carl of Carlisle, earlier version), *Lothaine* (the same text, later version), *Lowthean* (Malory, II, 2, etc.). The normal

¹ But M. Muret is wrong in adding: *Cette confusion explique de la façon la plus naturelle l'attribution du nom de Rivalin au père de Tristan dans le poème qu'a traduit Eilhart vers 1180*. In this poem the name of the country is still *Loenois*! And it is not at all natural that a Frenchman should give the Breton name *Rivalin* to a king of *Loenois*, that he should even have known it as the name of a Breton sovereign. I do not want to enter here into a discussion of the names of persons; I only may say by the way that the fact that the introduction of the name *Rivalin* is independent of and earlier than the change of *Loenois* to *Leonois*, is for me one of the reasons why I postulate that the Cornish stage of the Tristan legend was followed by a Breton stage and that the French *poème primitif*, probably the only source of all our French Tristan materials, is derived from the Breton stage.

² Ad a. 1091: *se cyng Melcolme . . . for mid his fyrde ut of Scottlande into Lodene on Engla land*. Ad a. 1125: Cardinal Johan of Creme, on his return to Rome, was accompanied by several English ecclesiastics; among them was *se b'of Lopenes J.* (according to the editor, John Earle, p. 366: John, the first bishop of Glasgow).

French name of the country was no doubt *Loeneis-Loenois*. This is Wace's rendering of Geoffrey's *Loudonesia*.¹ In an Anglo-Norman text of the thirteenth century, the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre* this name still occurs. King Alexander II of Scotland does homage to the son of the King of France for *la tierre de Loonnois* (quoted by F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXV, 17). This case also shows that the form *Loonnois* is a variant of *Loenois*. *Le Loenois* cannot be derived from *Loudonesia*, but postulates as etymon either Latin *Lo(u)donensis* (scil. *pagus*) or rather English *Lodēn(e)* or *Lothian*+suffix *-ois* (common in names of districts). *Loenois* was not the only French form. The Anglo-Norman version of the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, written in 1280, mentions the death of King Culen mac Indolf (cf. Appendix) as having occurred *en Lownes* (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 205). *Lownes* may stand for *Louneis* (< *Loeneis*) or may be merely an attempt at Frenchifying the Latin form *Lounnas* (cf. *Lennas*, *Loinas* in the *Chronicon Elegiacum*). The author of the Arthurian romance *Fergus*, Guillaume le Clerc, who is extremely well versed in the topography of Scotland, which country he must have personally known, and whose romance may therefore exceptionally be admitted among the historical documents, uses forms that have preserved the dental spirant and have not admitted the suffix *-ois*: *Lodian-Lodien*.² Yet in an earlier passage this author has made use of Wace's form which became the common form in Arthurian romances: he mentioned *doi biel vallet de Loenois* (: *cortois*) (28/26). We cannot be sure whether or not he was aware of the identity of *Loenois* with *Lodian-Lodien*; but I think he must have known both names since he was both a Frenchman and personally acquainted with the country.³

¹ Brut, vs. 9056: *Lot avoit non de Loenois (:cortois)* (=Geoffrey, VIII, 21); vs. 9872: *A Lot ... Randi li rois tot Loenois (:crois)* (=Geoffrey, IX, 9); vs. 10095: *Par Loth le roi de Loenois (:Norois)* (Wace's addition), vs. 10523: *Loth de Loenois i vint* (Geoffrey has here: *Lot rez Norwegias*, IX, 12).

² 55/10: *Si s'en ira en Lodian(:un an). 106/29 ff.: Tos Lodten est trespasés. En un manoir est ostelés C'on dist le Castiel as Puceles* (*Castellum Puellarum* was the romantic name of Edinburgh; cf. my explanation of it in *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XLIV, 91 ff.; 106/37 ff.): *Et vint au port desor la mer, Que jo ai ot apeler De pluissors le Port la Roine* (=Queensferry on the Firth of Forth). *Ilueques Lodten define, Et Escoche est de l'autre part. La mers ces deus terres depart; 130/3: Et la terre de Lodien Et Roceborc* (=Roxburgh) *voit tot de plain*. The Dutch translator of *Fergus* has omitted all these topographical details.

³ Geographical double names were not so rare. In Arthurian romances *Engleterre* was used by the side of *Logres*, *Daneborc-Tenebroc* by the side of *Chastel as Puceles* (Edin-

Concerning the district called *Lothian-Loenois* Skene says (*C. S.*, I, 240, 241, n. 19): "In its limited extent it was the district between the Avon and the Lammermoors. . . . This district now consists of the three counties East, Mid, and West Lothians," and in another place (*op. cit.*, I, 131, 237): "in its extended sense comprising the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the Lothians." The *Brevis Descriptio regni Scotie*, which mentions Berwick, Edinburgh, Dunbar, and even Stirling as towns in Lothian, obviously uses the name in its wider sense. This territory, occupied in Ptolemy's time by the *Ottadeni* or *Votadini*, and the *Dumnonii* or *Damnonii*, was overrun, after the Romans had left the country, by Picts who had crossed the Firth of Forth (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 237, Rhys, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 153-56, 224). However, since the seventh century the Pictish territory south of the Firth of Forth was for the main part under Anglie rule (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 236-38, 240, Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 151), while the western part (Stirling) "seems to have been more closely connected with the British kingdom of Alclyde" (Skene, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 365). At a later period, Lothian was conquered from the Angles by the kings of Scotia (cf. Skene, *op. cit.*, I, 365, 393-94). The neighbors of the Picts of Lothian were in the southeast the Angles, in the southwest the Britons of Cumbria (Strathclyde), in the north beyond the Firth of Forth the Picts of Albania-Scotia. How long the Picts of Lothian retained their Pictish nationality and speech under foreign rule is uncertain. We know only that another Pictish tribe that settled south of the Roman wall, the Picts of Galloway, who were

burgh; (cf. *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XLIV¹, 91 ff. and add to it *Lai Doon*, vs. 8, etc.). *Cepeto*, Chepstow in South Wales (cf. Meliador) by the side of *Estri(n)quel* (cf. Rigomer 6593, 14924; the editors of this romance have not identified the names; compare, however, Longnon, Index to Meliador and Liber Landavensis s.v. Strugull; Bonnin, *Cartulaire de Louviers* (Evreux-Paris, 1870): de Striguil (et de Penbroc), I, 94, 104 (charters of the years 1189, 1197), W. Marescallo comite Estreguilla (charter of 1197: *ibid.*, p. 109); Layamon, III, 105: Kinard the eorle of Strugul (Strogyle). In Gerbert's *Grail* we find an Arthurian knight Jacob d'Estriqueil. Cf. *Tristan Ménestrel*, ed. Bédier and Weston vss. 671, 937. This text has also in common with Rigomer the strange name *Maudamadas de Galoe* (697; Rigomer, 15514 f., etc.: *Midomidas filz le roi Lot de Galoe*). *Estrivelyn-Estruvelin* (cf. Meraugis) by the side of *Sinandon-Sinandone* (cf. Meliador, vs. 14759 ff.: *Signandon si est un chastiaus Dedens Escoc* ... , *Estruvelin est nommés ores*, and Longnon, Meliador, I, liii ff., and *Zeitschr. f. frs. Spr.*, XXVIII, 47-48; XLIV¹, 176), and *Mont Dolerous* may have been a third name of Stirling (cf. *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 47-48; XLIV¹, 96 ff.). The forms with and without a medial dental have their parallels in the medieval forms of the name Galloway: Latin *Walweitha*, *Galweidia*, *Galweya*, *Galwey*, etc. (cf. Skene, *Chron.*), French *Galvoie*, *Gasoie*, *Galveide*, *Galvaide* (the latter forms in the romance *Guillaume d'Angleterre*).

also subject to the Angles, spoke the *sermo Pictorum* as late as the twelfth century (Skene, *C.S.*, I, 203). Skene says (*ibid.*, I, 131):

In the northwestern part of this region (Lothian) they (the Picts) appear to have remained till a comparatively late period, extending from the Carron to the Pentland hills, and known by the name of the plain of Manau, or Manann, while the name of *Pentland*, corrupted from *Pelland* or *Pictland*,¹ has preserved a record of their occupation.

Previous to their subjection the Picts of Lothian seem to have had kings of their own. But the legendary *Loth* whom the Scotch chroniclers Hector Boethius and Buchanan term *rex Pictorum* (cf. San Marte's edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*, pp. 380–81), probably owes this attribute and his connection with Lothian only to the similarity of the names. However, *Loth* being a Celtic name, it is unlikely that King *Loth* was merely an artificial character, the eponymus of Lothian. But the author of the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, who called this *vir semipaganus rex Leudonus* (cf. Appendix), has either derived this name directly from *Leudonia* or has assimilated the name *Loth* to the latter name. The *eu* might be explained as a graphical corruption of *ou*; but if Lothian was, as J. Rhys maintains in an additional note to his "Studies in the Arthurian legend" (Oxford, 1891, p. 391, referring to a note of Phillimore's in the *Cymmrodor*, XI, 51), called *Lleuduniawn* in Welsh, then *Leudonia* no doubt is based on this Welsh form, and the latter, I should think, is a corruption of Loudonia, owing to the influence of the Welsh name *Llew*, which the Welsh used to substitute for *Loth* (cf. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 11, n. 2). *Loth* being in Geoffrey's *Historia* and the French romances the father of *Walwen* (Gauvain), the latter, who in his turn was connected (on account of the similarity of the names) both with *Wallia* (Wales) and with *Walweitha* (Galloway),² thus became indirectly also a Pict of Lothian. But all these connections seem to be purely artificial and not to rest on genuine popular tradition. There is, on the other hand, no reason to doubt the genuineness of Tristan's connection with Lothian (Loenois).

¹ "Country of the Picts" was in correct Anglo-Saxon *Pehta-land*, which may have yielded *Pet(e)land* in Middle English (*Pehtas* survives in Broad Scotch as *Pechts*, says Rhys *op. cit.*, p. 313). The anorganic *n* is frequent in English. Rhys's opposition to Skene's explanation of Pentland (*op. cit.*, pp. 112, 153, 313) is unjustified. He himself supplied (p. 313) a parallel, the Pentland Firth (separating the Orkneys from the north of Scotland), which is Old Norse *Pettlandsfjörðr* = the Firth of the country of the Picts.

² Both connections are united in William of Malmesbury's *De gestis*; cf. quotation in San Marte, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

M. J. Loth mentioned indeed M. F. Lot's equation *Loonois* = *Lothian*, but treated it merely as a hypothesis, to which he considered himself justified in adding his own as its equal, nay as its superior: *Il n'est pas impossible non plus que ce pays ait désigné la région de Caerlleon sur Wysc dont la situation conviendrait mieux.* He never informed his reader that *Lothian* could be proved to have been called *Loenois*, while it is a pure assumption that the district of *Caerlleon* was known by the name of *Loenois* or even of *Leonois*. But, being no doubt conscious of the weakness of his arguments, and wishing to eliminate everything that might speak in favor of a Pictish origin of the legend and might annul his Cornish theory, he states (p. 89): *Le nom d'Ermenie me paraît beaucoup plus important que celui de Loonois, lequel est plus connu et prête à confusion à cause de sa ressemblance avec le Léon de Bretagne.*

To my mind *Loenois* is far more important than *Ermenie*: (1) because *Ermenie* is attested only by Thomas, *Loenois*-*Leonois* by the other three versions, *Eilhart-Berol-Prose*, called together the *Vulgate* redaction. There is a general agreement among scholars that the *Vulgate* redaction is far superior to the *Thomas* redaction as to reliability, and the correctness of this view can easily be ascertained. (2) Because the sense of *Loenois* is clear, while the name *Ermenie* is obscure and may be explained in different ways, none of which carries conviction.

APPENDIX

Instances of the Name Lothian in Medieval Latin Documents

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. reg. Brit.*, VIII, 21 (1138): *Lot de Loudonesia* (scil. regione) (edition: *Londonesia*, owing to confusion with *London*) marries King Arthur's sister Anna. Arthur bestows on him the consulatus *Loudonesiae* (*Lon-*). Geoffrey seems to divide Scotland into three parts: *Scocia*, **Murevia*, and *Loudonesia* (IX, 9).

Simeon of Durham (twelfth century): *apud fluvium Twedam qui Northymbriam et Loidam disternat* (quotation in Skene, *C.S.*, I, 241, n. 19). *Hoc modo Lodoneium adjectum est regno Scottorum* (quotation in Skene, *ibid.*, I, 394, n. 17).

Vita S. Kentigerni by an Anonymus (twelfth century): *Rex igitur Leudonus* (<*Loudonus*), *vir semipaganus*, a quo provincia quam regebat *Leudonia* (<*Loudonia*) nomen sortita in *Brittannia septentrionali*, *filiam habuit novercatam* que *Thaney* vocabatur. She became the mother of

St. Kentigern by illicit cohabitation with Ewen filius Erwegende (in *gestis historiarum* [i.e., the French romances] vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien [read Urien]). (A. P. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 245).

Ailred, *De bello Standardi* (twelfth century): Angliae victor Willelmus Laodoniam, Calatram, Scotiam usque ad Abernith penetravit (quotation in Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxi, n. 1).

Charter of Rolland, son of Uchtred, King of Galloway (twelfth century): usque ad divisas de Laodonia versus Lambermor (today the Lammermoors) (quotation in Skene *C.S.*, I, 241, n. 19).

Laws of the Scottish King William the Lion (twelfth century): Omnēs illi qui ultra Forth manserint in Laudonia vel in Galwedra (quotation in Skene, *Chron.*, p. lxxxvii, n.).

Description of Britain by an anonymus of the twelfth century: tota terra que est inter magnum flumen Humbri et Tede flumen et ultra usque ad flumen Forthi magni, scilicet Loonia et Galweya et Albania tota, que modo Scotia vocatur, et Morovia (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 154).

Chronicles of the Picts and Scots (dated 1251): Culen mac Indulf (rex Scotorum) interfectus in Laodana (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 174).

Chronicon Elegiacum (dated 1270): reference to the same event: apud Lennas (var. Loinas, Lovias) (plural as in Modern English the Lothians?) (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 179).

Chronicle of the Picts and Scots (dated 1317): reference to the same event: in Laddonia (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 289).

Chronicle of the Scots (dated 1333-34): reference to the same event: in Laodonia.

Brevis descriptio regni Scotie (dated 1292-96): In primis Tyndale (valley of the Tyne, confused with Tweeddale?) continet .XXX. leucas in longitudine et .XX. leucas in latitudine. In Tindale sunt castra subscripta: Rokesbōrw [Roxburgh], Geddeworthe [Jedburgh, originally Jedworth]. In Louthian sunt castra Berewik [North Berwick], Edeneborw [Edinburgh], Donbar [Dunbar] et Strivelyn [Stirling]. Iste due provincie extendunt se usque Erlesferie et Queneferie (Skene, *Chron.*, p. 214).

Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historia* 1. IX (1527): Thametes or Thames (cf. *supra*, Thaney!) was the daughter of Loth (cf. *supra*, Leudonus!), King of the Picts, qui Pithlandiae novum a se nomen Laudoniae egregiam ob probitatem reliquit ad posteros [quotation in San Marte's edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 381].

E. BRUGGER

DAVOS, SWITZERLAND

RELATIVISM IN BONALD'S LITERARY DOCTRINE

Brunetière, discussing the formation of the relativistic doctrine in criticism at the beginning of the nineteenth century, names Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand as pioneers, and insists upon the importance of Mme de Staël's *De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (1800).¹ He speaks of her as standing out from a multitude of conservative and commonplace critics of the classical tradition—a view Mme de Staël herself shares.² No doubt this is right. Yet it is amazing not to find any mention of Bonald with his well-known proposition, first formulated, although not in those precise terms, in 1796, that “la littérature est l'expression de la société”; there would seem to be here a program no less relativistic than that announced in Mme de Staël's title. The subject demands attention. Bonald is obviously not a critic of the rank of Mme de Staël, and his chief interest is not in letters, but this statement of his is a challenge to anyone investigating the early relativists. We must know definitely whether Bonald is to be counted among the initiators of the doctrine which characterizes the nineteenth century and is represented in its full growth by Taine and Renan.³

The 1796 document referred to is the first of Bonald's published works, the *Théorie du Pouvoir politique et religieux dans la société civile, démontrée par le raisonnement et par l'histoire*—an impressive title with no suggestion in it of literary criticism. In the course of his remarks on political power, however, Bonald stops for a moment to propose a history of literature written according to the system which later is to be that of Mme de Staël; he recommends a work

¹ *L'Évolution de la critique depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à nos jours* (7^e édition), Sixième Leçon. Paris: Hachette, 1922.

² Cf. her Preface to the second edition (I, 3): “Je voulais montrer le rapport qui existait entre la littérature et les institutions sociales de chaque siècle et de chaque pays; et ce travail n'avait encore été fait dans aucun livre existant.”

³ Cf. a recent description of this doctrine in Lasserre, *Renan et Nous*, Paris, Grasset 1923, pp. 189-94. As to Bonald, Moulinié's thesis (University of Toulouse, 1915) mentions his literary criticism only in passing (pp. 254 ff.). The *Congrès Scientifique de France* of 1874 (II, 259-73) contains an inadequate *Étude sur les Doctrines littéraires de M. de Bonald* by l'Abbé Truel.

based upon "le rapprochement de l'état des arts chez les divers peuples avec la nature de leurs institutions."¹ The remainder of the passage, quoted in full, gives in its integrity this first enunciation of Bonald's theory:

L'auteur trouverait peut-être, dans la mollesse des institutions politiques des Etats d'Italie, le motif de l'afféterie qui domine dans leurs arts; dans la dureté militaire des institutions des peuples du Nord, le motif de la rudesse de leurs productions littéraires; dans la constitution mixte de l'Angleterre, la cause de ces inégalités bizarres, de ce mélange d'une nature sublime et d'une nature basse et abjecte qu'on remarque dans ses poètes. Il rejetterait le principe secret de ces imitations exagérées, de cette grandeur gigantesque qu'on aperçoit dans les productions et jusque dans le caractère espagnol, sur la constitution de cette société, où le *pouvoir* royal n'est pas assez limité par les institutions politiques; il n'oublierait pas surtout de remarquer que les arts en France s'éloignaient de la nature noble et perfectionnée, pour descendre à la nature simple, champêtre, enfantine, familière, depuis que la société politique penchait vers la révolution qui devait la ramener à l'état primitif des sociétés naturelles. Ainsi la poésie peignait les jouissances des sens, plutôt que les sentiments du cœur ou l'héroïsme des vertus publiques: elle mettait sur la scène les détails naïfs, bas, quelquefois larmoyants, souvent obscènes, de l'intérieur de la vie privée, plutôt que le tableau des grands événements qui décident du destin des rois et de la fortune des empires, plutôt que la représentation décente et vraie des mœurs nobles et relevées. La peinture exprimait plus volontiers la férocité de Brutus que la magnanimité d'Alexandre. L'architecture avait moins de monuments à élever que de *boudoirs* à embellir; et la même disposition d'esprit qui changeait un jardin, où l'art avait perfectionné la nature en en disposant avec ordre les différentes beautés, en une campagne inculte et agreste sous le nom de *jardin anglais*, devait bientôt remplacer la régularité majestueuse d'une société constituée, par le désordre et le délire des institutions politiques de l'homme.¹

The history of letters proposed would be "un ouvrage de littérature politique" and, as a matter of fact, exceedingly partisan, since Bonald is a militant reactionary. His special pleading diminishes the interest of his literary criticism, and indeed if he always wrote in this tone one would be justified in dismissing him at once. But there are other considerations. And even this passage, lifted from its context, has a certain intrinsic quality of relativism; the description of the shift in point of view in France from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the sense of an intimate connection between the various

¹ I, 328. References are to the *Œuvres complètes de Bonald*, 3 large volumes in 4to, Paris, Migne, 1859-64.

arts of a period, poetry, painting, architecture, landscape-gardening, and above all the suggestion that the same mentality creates the English garden and the English constitution—these things already bring one close to the nineteenth-century historian's idea that *tout se tient*. We think at once of Taine's view of the affinity between a tragedy of Racine, a funeral oration of Bossuet, a memorandum of Colbert, and a garden of Le Nôtre. Indeed, Bonald at the very end of the passage has, unwittingly, changed his proposition and is for the moment arguing not that the arts in England are the expression of the political system of the country, but that both this constitution and these arts have a common source, are the products in each case of a single "disposition de l'esprit." Taine is going to study England from a not dissimilar point of view.

Whether or not the desire to introduce evidence in support of a political opinion was the original stimulus, Bonald's later developments of the 1796 theory, and in particular of the formula "*la littérature est l'expression de la société*," take him far, on occasion, from any merely political doctrine.

Two articles furnish numerous illustrations: *De l'Influence du Théâtre sur les Mœurs et le Goût* (1805), and *Du Style et de la Littérature* (1806).

Not the influence of the theater upon *mœurs* but the opposite relationship is what concerns him in the first of these; he copies the wording of the Institut National in its announcement of the subject of a prize essay, and then to express what he regards as the true situation he reverses the order and proceeds to examine, from his own point of view, Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire "qui ont chacun ... un caractère particulier relatif aux mœurs dominantes à l'époque à laquelle a paru chacun de ces trois poètes célèbres."¹ In 1796 Bonald was stressing the influence of political institutions; he now writes in terms of *mœurs* and insists, with a much wider application of the deterministic principle, upon "l'effet inévitable de l'empire que les mœurs et les circonstances exercent sur les idées."² He is occasionally vague,³ imprudent. He goes far when he declares that

¹ III, 1037.

² III, 1040.

³ He writes in the sentence of which a part was just quoted that each of these poets has "une physionomie qui leur est propre" (p. 1037), only to add a little later that each one has "un mode particulier, un caractère propre et distinctif qui forme son *génie* et qui est relatif aux mœurs et à l'esprit général de son temps" (p. 1042).

Polyeucte, le Cid, Andromaque, Athalie, Zaïre, and Mahomet are less the tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire than the products of their respective periods. But he describes the *milieu* which produced Corneille in a manner which would please the most moderate of modern relativists:

Il se forma, même dans les deux sexes, un esprit national plus occupé de grands intérêts que de petites passions; des caractères plus mâles, moins susceptibles de sentiments tendres que de mouvements exaltés, portant à l'excès les vertus et les vices, grands jusqu'à l'exagération, généreux jusqu'à l'héroïsme, avides de domination, et peu façonnés à l'obéissance. Corneille parut, et ses drames immortels prirent la teinte des mœurs nationales, et embellirent le tableau. Tout, dans les principaux personnages, y porte l'empreinte d'une élévation qui n'est plus à notre mesure. ...¹

This is not unlike Faguet's characterization of the same Cornelian age, "chevaleresque, généreux, idéaliste et très volontiers exalté en toute manière d'exaltation."² Faguet has a vision of the age of Louis XIII, an imaginative understanding of the intricate interplay of politics, religion, philosophy, and letters during the period, so surpassing Bonald's that to insist upon a parallel would be absurd, yet the essential method of Bonald and that of the man who profits by all the progress made in historical criticism in the nineteenth century are the same, and this is no small tribute to Bonald.³

In other parts of this article there is still much sectarian argument; the writer is obviously interested in damaging the reputation of the philosophical and anticlerical Voltaire. But even in this instance the momentum of his relativism carries him much farther than at other times he would have allowed, and we find him once purely relativistic:

Et qu'on prenne garde que je ne prétends pas élever la question de savoir si Voltaire a été plus tragique que Corneille ou que Racine, parce qu'il a été plus véhément et plus passionné. Ses partisans lui en font un mérite, et je ne lui en fais pas ici un reproche; je me contente d'observer qu'il a été *autrement* tragique que ses devanciers. Un siècle plus tôt, Voltaire eût été peut-être Racine ou plutôt Corneille; mais venu plus tard, il a trouvé d'autres mœurs, et elles lui ont inspiré d'autres pensées, et présenté d'autres tableaux.⁴

¹ III, 1038.

² *En lisant Corneille*, Paris, Hachette, 1913, p. 4.

³ Bonald, referring to "l'écueil de la démocratie," is still partisan, but so for that matter is Faguet, to whom the government of Louis XIII is a despotism.

⁴ III, 1043. Something of the same reluctance to render an absolute verdict is found in the article *Sur les Prix Décennaux* (III, 1183-90).

This is momentary, but complete, detachment from anything absolute.¹ Bonald extends his thesis to other *genres*, with less hesitation about pronouncing absolute judgment. Then he turns to English literature and concerning Shakespeare makes an affirmation which, with due allowance for his hatred of the British constitution, suggests nevertheless, *toute proportion gardée*, Taine's characterization of the great poet's nature "si extrême dans la douleur et dans la joie, d'une allure si brusque, d'une verve si tourmentée et si impétueuse que ce grand siècle seul a pu produire un tel enfant."² Bonald writes:

Les productions informes de ce génie enfant, sont l'expression fidèle de cette société ... sauvage encore dans ses mœurs, bizarre dans ses lois, livrée au trouble par la nature même de sa constitution, et dont toutes les époques, et particulièrement celle où a vécu Shakespeare, ont été marquées par des scènes atroces et sanglantes.³

In subsequent observations concerning the eighteenth century and its expression of the *Zeitgeist*, Bonald reveals a keen sense of the fusion of the *belles-lettres* and the philosophy of the period. All told, we find here a considerable advance in the direction of pure relativism, independent of political argument.

The second article mentioned, *Du Style et de la Littérature*, begins with the well-known formula: "*Le style est l'homme même*, a dit Buffon, et l'on a dit après lui: *La littérature est l'expression de la société*."⁴ Bonald accepts with entire approval, and with equally entire misunderstanding, Buffon's statement (which he likes to quote), introducing a physiological element which, although contrary to Buffon, again anticipates the nineteenth century; he cites examples, Corneille, La Fontaine, and Rousseau; and then proceeds to develop his application of the principle to society. The fact that here, in support of this extension of Buffon's principle, Bonald

¹ Bonald's article on Voltaire (III, 1015 ff.) is marked by no such detachment.

² *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, Livre II, chap. IV, first paragraph.

³ III, 1045. Cf. III, 1275. Cf. Mme de Staël, *Littérature*, I, 335, where she speaks of the "souvenirs grossiers et féroces" of his environment to be found in Shakespeare. But she does not insist, and in general there is no comparison between her treatment of Shakespeare and Bonald's. She is incomparably more expert.

⁴ III, 975. Bonald had already used his formula as early as 1802 (in the article *Du Mérite de la Littérature ancienne et moderne*, III, 967, undated, but no later than 1802 since a note, p. 975, reads: "L'auteur veut parler du *Génie du Christianisme* ... qui allait paraître"). And even in 1796 he says very nearly the same thing with equal terseness: "les arts se développent à mesure que la société se perfectionne" (I, 558).

quotes at length his own earlier statement, that of 1796, establishes a continuity in his thinking and confirms the belief that he had conceived the essential idea four years before the publication of Mme de Staël's *Littérature*. In the examples which Bonald now draws from French letters he is again thoroughly partisan; his system is for the moment as rigid and as symmetrical as that of the most determined conservative, and one comprehends the esteem in which Bonald is held today by the members of the *Action Française* group.¹ Yet his thesis has consequences which lead Bonald himself far from this doctrine, as is seen in this same article at points where the author, discussing foreign literatures, writes with detachment. Each of the nations of Europe "a cultivé avec plus de succès le genre de littérature qui a le plus d'analogie avec sa constitution et avec ses mœurs."² So Switzerland has the most perfect pastorals; so England with its highly developed organization of family life has excelled in the novel, which for Bonald is essentially domestic. Of Spain he writes in a manner purely historical:

Qu'on se représente ... deux peuples aussi opposés de génie, de mœurs, de lois, de religion et d'intérêts, que les Espagnols et les Maures, des Chrétiens et des mussulmans, établis pendant sept à huit siècles sur le même territoire, sans communication avec d'autres peuples, toujours en guerre sans se détruire, ou en paix sans se confondre; et que l'on juge tout ce qu'un état de société, sans exemple dans l'histoire, a dû produire de sentiments et d'aventures guerrières ou même galantes, chez des hommes, les uns autant que les autres, braves et passionnés, qui ne posaient les armes que pour se livrer aux plaisirs, et chez qui les rapports inévitables des deux sexes avaient à combattre tous les obstacles que peuvent opposer la différence de religion et de mœurs, et une inimitié de part et d'autre domestique. Exercés par cette lutte longue et terrible, les Espagnols ne se délivrent de ces hôtes dangereux que pour dominer l'ancien monde, et voler à la conquête du nouveau; et ils étonnent l'univers par les entreprises fabuleuses de leur Cortez et de leur Pizarre, et par la puissance prodigieuse de leur Charles-Quint. Les mœurs retinrent donc en Espagne l'empreinte des événements, et la littérature celle des mœurs. Jetés hors de toutes les limites, par une exaltation de tant de siècles, de tous les sentiments de guerre, de religion et de galanterie, ces trois mobiles qui influent si puissamment sur l'esprit et le caractère des peuples, riche d'un instrument plein, sonore, abondant, la littérature espagnole

¹ Cf. III, 1003: "l'ordre, cette première source de toutes les beautés, même littérales." Cf., even, Bonald's view of a fixed language, III, 1198, with the recent book of André Thérive, *Le Français Langue Morte*, 1923.

² III, 999.

confondit tous les genres, porta le noble dans le familier, le familier dans le noble; s'éleva dans le grand jusqu'au gigantesque, et descendit du tragique jusqu'au bouffon; mêla dans l'épopée des scènes de volupté aux récits de combats; fertiles en romans chevaleresques, en stances amoureuses, en comédies héroïques, en drames d'intrigue, à coups d'épée, à déguisements et à *imbroglio*. C'est là du moins le caractère de l'ancienne littérature espagnole, celle qui a jeté un si grand éclat, et qui a donné le *Cid* à la France, et *Don Quichotte* à l'Europe.¹

Here is a passage which, as regards essential method, leaving out considerations of style and of judgment, might have been written by Taine. Once more the momentum of the principle carries Bonald far, and in particular far from his original partisanship. The article closes with a significant attack upon absolute literary judgments, a propos of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns, an issue to which we presently return. In a survey of ancient and modern eloquence the writer finds

une nouvelle preuve ... du rapport de la littérature à la société; et peut-être aurait-elle abrégé la longue dispute entre les anciens et les modernes, sur le mérite respectif de leurs compositions oratoires, en faisant voir qu'on a souvent rapproché les uns des autres des objets qui ne sont pas identiques et qui, pour cette raison, ne peuvent être comparés entre eux d'une manière absolue.²

In fine, the 1805 and the 1806 articles are an advance; Bonald maintains that literature is the expression of society, not merely as a part of his political system, but also as a genuinely unbiased relativistic argument, and occasionally his method approaches that of the modern literary historian.

The frequent cases where he returns to his thesis in support of his private creed, although the degree of partisanship varies, call for no comment.³ On the other hand, we notice a bold enunciation of the doctrine in its integrity in a work published in 1818. Once more the author starts with Buffon's remark on style:

De même que chaque écrivain a son style, expression particulière de sa manière de penser et de sentir ... ce style qui est *l'homme* même, selon Buffon, parce que ses nuances sont le résultat de la constitution morale, de l'organisation physique, et de toutes les circonstances d'éducation et de

¹ III, 1001-2. Cf. III, 1406, where Bonald insists upon the national character of *Don Quixote* and of *Robinson Crusoe*.

² III, 1016.

³ I, 1152-53; III, 829, 844-46, 933-34, 1174, etc.

position, qui les ont modifiées,¹ ainsi chaque nation a sa littérature qui est aussi son style, et même on peut dire sa langue, dans laquelle on peut apercevoir l'empreinte de sa constitution politique et surtout religieuse, de sa situation physique, et de l'influence des divers événements de sa vie sociale.²

Here is intimate fusion of numerous influences. Man's independence of his circumstances Bonald is inclined, when in a deterministic mood, to minimize;³ and in particular we find him denying the ability of a given individual to react from his original environment, and stressing the influence of family and of the conditions of adolescence in a way that, as regards method, if not as regards artistic power, suggests the great doctor of relativity, Sainte-Beuve. Witness this observation a propos of Mme de Staël's *Considérations sur la Révolution française*:

Tous les petits préjugés de patrie, de famille, de religion, de profession, de gouvernement, de bel esprit, se retrouvent dans cet écrit. On s'étonne que l'éducation littéraire, la grande fortune, les voyages, la vie indépendante, les habitudes du grand monde, le séjour dans les grands Etats et les grandes villes, l'étendue d'esprit et de connaissances de Mme de Staël, aient si peu changé aux premières impressions de Mlle Necker. Pas plus que J.-J. Rousseau, elle n'est point sortie de Genève, et n'a pas pu même se défaire des petites vanités républicaines. "Ah!" dit-elle, "quelle énivrante jouissance que celle de la popularité!" C'était un goût de famille; et il égare l'écrivain comme il a abusé le ministre.⁴

The minister himself is characterized elsewhere with the aid of the same method:

Necker ... banquier protestant et Genevois, et, à ce double titre, imbu de cette politique rétrécie qui veut régler un royaume sur le système d'une petite démocratie, et les finances d'un grand Etat comme les registres d'une

¹ Buffon of course did not mean this. Cf. the *examen critique* of Hatzfeld's edition of the *Discours sur le Style*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1872, especially, p. XII: "L'homme dont il parle est l'être abstrait de la philosophie de Descartes, l'être qui pense, et que la raison peut concevoir en faisant abstraction de son corps, de ses sens, de son tempérament, de ses mœurs, de ses passions, de son caractère, l'être qui existe parce qu'il pense et qui n'existe que par là." A recent critic in the *Literary Review* (March 31, 1923, p. 563) observes that Taine must have realized the deterministic value of Buffon's proposition. If so it is because Taine read into it his own relativism. For the moment the point of interest is that Bonald likewise gives the remark a relativistic interpretation.

² III, 245-46. For an account of Bonald's theory of language, which is in some respects parallel to his doctrine of literary criticism, cf. Moulinié's thesis.

³ Cf. III, 1109: "Il faudrait ... demander pourquoi certains siècles paraissent privilégiés pour produire ces modèles de beau idéal; mais cette question faite si souvent, et qu'on n'a jamais complètement résolue, demanderait une discussion particulière. En général, on peut assurer que cet accident remarquable de la société dépend bien plus de la disposition des choses que des dispositions de l'homme." Cf. also, III, 1110.

⁴ II, 596.

maison de banque; qui s'irrite contre toute distinction autre que celle de la fortune, et ne voit dans le dépositaire du pouvoir monarchique que le président d'une assemblée délibérante ou le chef d'une association commerciale, révocable au gré des actionnaires.¹

That is to say, Necker is very completely a product of his circumstances. In the insistence upon the formula, *Necker, banquier protestant et Genevois*—discounting as we may fairly do the personal animosity in this case—we anticipate the extravagant *faculté matresse* system of Taine.²

Bonald then often uses a relativistic method, with varying degrees of detachment. What is the essential quality of this relativism which we sometimes succeed in isolating? Obviously it is not in the chemical sense pure; it is always blended with absolutism. What are the proportions?

The answer begins to appear, and we approach the center of Bonald's doctrine, in the following pronouncement:

Les idées du beau moral dans les arts sont universelles, parce que leur type est dans la raison générale du genre humain; celles du beau physique sont locales et conformes au modèle que l'artiste a sous les yeux.³

This distinction, with the insistence upon the local which marks Bonald and reminds one of the proposition of another pioneer relativist, Condillac, to the effect that "la philosophie est de toutes les nations; mais la poésie est toujours strictement nationale"⁴—this distinction is the basis of Bonald's literary judgments. He has not a carefully formulated aesthetic; many of his remarks on the subject are merely casual; and his terminology is far from exact, *moral* and *universel*, *physique* and *local*, and various other sets of words are used without especial discrimination. But he evidently has in mind two sets of qualities separated by a sufficiently sharp line of demarcation, and these fit into the system of dualities which in general characterizes Bonald's thinking. Compare his distinction between *hommes d conceptions*, men capable of general ideas, and *hommes d imagination*,

¹ III, 891.

² For other, not important, cases of determinism in individuals, cf. I, 790 (Louis XIV) and III, 662 (Mahomet). Cf. also III, 835, note, where Bonald, somewhat petulantly, objects to a certain kind of literary gossip, as if foreseeing this abuse of the deterministic method.

³ III, 225-26.

⁴ Cf. Lanson, "Les Idées littéraires de Condillac," *Revue de Synthèse historique*, XXI, 267-79. The wording of Condillac's theory is that of Professor Lanson.

imagination being explained as "la faculté qui *image* ou *imagine*, et ... l'on ne peut imaginer que des choses solides, des corps, des sens, des organes, et de là vient que l'imagination domine chez les artistes occupés de l'imitation des choses physiques,"¹ a distinction expressed more succinctly in the verbs *idéal* and *imaginer*.² For him the separation is often complete; he does not seem to conceive of the possibility of amalgamation, a point well illustrated by his insistence upon the difference between hieroglyphic and phonetic writing, the first a matter of physical images, the second, with all its ingenious complexity, purely intellectual; and this he argued at a time when Champollion was about to demonstrate the transition.³ He seems far removed here from the conception of evolution which is so intimately attached to relativism. But this is not always so. Even in the matter of the evolution of language, upon which he sometimes speaks so categorically, he proves to have something in common with Renan.⁴ And in his literary criticism, based upon these not always clean-cut distinctions, he is closer to the essential manner of the nineteenth century than he knows.

The immediate application of the pronouncement above quoted is simple. A painter who sees only thick lips and prominent cheekbones will find his standard of physical beauty in these local characteristics, whereas in giving to his warriors an expression of courage, to his women a look of modesty, he is dealing in qualities universally recognized. A preceding example, wherein the rhythm of poetry is treated as a universal, and intellectual, quality, is more complex and would now seem entirely unacceptable.

An application more important for present purposes is found in the article on the ancients and moderns, and this brings us back to the thesis that literature is the expression of society and shows that the proposition just quoted is vital here. Society may be measured by an absolute, that is to say, a moral, standard; Bonald is as sure of this as he is of the conclusion that society has advanced from a less perfect to a more perfect state, specifically to Christian and monarchic France. But an absolute appraisal of ancient and modern literatures,

¹ I, 1080.

² Cf. Moulinié, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242. Cf. also Bonald, III, 420: "les langues seront regardées comme les archives du genre humain."

as if here, too, there were a universal standard, is futile.¹ We must remember that literature is partly local, secondary, and determined. Only with this mind may we attempt certain comparisons; then we shall find that although Homer may represent an imperfect society—and reason tells us that he does—he is, even so, relatively perfect² and, since the same conditions will not be reproduced, unique.³ Relatively, on account of local considerations, the real classics for a Frenchman may be the products of his own seventeenth century:

Les ouvrages que vit éclore le siècle de Louis XIV ... ouvrages aussi classiques, et pour nous plus classiques peut-être que ceux des anciens, parce qu'ils sont écrits dans notre langue et avec nos pensées. ...⁴

Here the local conditions are far more for Bonald than merely physical.

In general, Bonald's attempt at a double standard of beauty shows that he felt the need of receding from an intransigent absolutism.

He retreats slowly, and in good order. He is still tenacious of a belief in the presence of a permanent, abiding element, by definition *moral*, in the best literature. We become aware of this element, he says, as soon as we attain the proper perspective:

Si nous considérons une nation toute entière et avec toutes ses générations comme un seul corps toujours le même et subsistant sans interruption, nous verrons dans les grands écrivains qu'elle a produits ... les contemporains de tous ses âges, les instituteurs de toutes ses générations et nous regarderons leurs ouvrages comme le patrimoine héréditaire, inaliénable de la société et, en quelque sorte, comme le fonds et les *immeubles* de sa fortune littéraire. ... Je sais que les curieux et les descœuvrés veulent toujours du nouveau, *n'en fât-il plus au monde*: mais ils en auront toujours assez. L'intérêt et la vanité soutiendront sans jamais se lasser, ce commerce journalier d'ouvrages plus ou moins ingénieux, qu'on peut regarder comme le *courant* de la littérature, et qui en sont, pour continuer ma comparaison, comme le *meuble* qui change avec la mode, périt et se renouvelle sans cesse. Pour les hommes instruits, les véritables amateurs des lettres, ceux dont les jugements forment à la longue l'opinion publique sur les ouvrages et sur les auteurs, les modèles suffisent, et même lorsqu'ils les savent par cœur, ils les relisent encore, sûrs d'y découvrir de nouvelles beautés, et d'y puiser une connaissance plus approfondie des ressources de l'art et des secrets de la nature.⁵

¹ III, 968-69. Cf. III, 837: "c'est se jeter dans une question vaine et insoluble."

² III, 994: "Homère est parfait, même lorsqu'il représente une société imparfaite."

³ III, 246: "Nous avons des Homères, des Virgiles, des Cicérons, des Tacites modernes, et qui valent, si l'on veut, les anciens; mais nous n'avons proprement, ni ne pouvons avoir, dans nos langues, l'Homère, le Virgile, le Tacite des Grecs ou des Latins."

⁴ III, 932.

⁵ III, 1108-9.

Yet this classicism of Bonald, if classicism be the proper word, is close to that of a great relativist, Sainte-Beuve, as indicated in the latter's *Qu'est-ce qu'un Classique?*; it is even possible to affirm that for the moment Bonald is the more relativistic of the two, since he writes of a given nation as unique, and of its most representative writers as *contemporains de tous ses âges*, whereas Sainte-Beuve speaks in terms of universals and his classics are *contemporains de tous les âges*.¹ The difference depending upon the possessive pronoun might be enormous had Bonald meant to insist upon it—which we have no hesitation in saying he did not. But it is interesting to note this element in his classicism.

And even in such cases Bonald emphasizes the local. He does not argue that the great writers of a country endure merely because they have realized in such large measure *le beau moral absolu*.² We follow Bonald better here if we remember that he holds to a kind of evolution in the realization of *les vérités morales*. No doubt there is Truth conditioned by neither time nor space, but from the point of view of man this is at the outset only potential. Of the metaphysical quality of this argument the philosophers may decide; the present point is that Bonald believes the men of letters of a country, already conditioned physically and no doubt otherwise, may little by little approach a perfect realization of the *beauté morale* possible in a given society.³ The process is not unlike the organizing empiricism of Sainte-Beuve.⁴ Once a relative maximum of beauty has been attained (as to who shall decide this Bonald does not tell us here), we reach a stage that may be called classic:

Une fois qu'un peuple a trouvé ce qu'il cherchait, les ouvrages qui lui présentent une image de cet original intellectuel, aussi parfaite qu'il est

¹ *Causeries du Lundi*, III, 42.

² For there is also *le beau moral relatif*. Cf. his *Réflexions philosophiques sur le beau moral* (III, 511 ff.), an article of capital importance for the student of Bonald's general criticism of the arts but without any especial significance as regards the theory of literature as a product.

³ Cf. III, 1168: "Si l'on objectait que les idées du beau moral ne sont pas les mêmes chez tous les peuples, je ferais observer qu'elles ne sont pas différentes mais seulement inégalement développées."

⁴ III, 1169. In this passage Bonald is again incoherent as to the degree to which a genius may dominate his circumstances.

donné à l'homme de l'atteindre ou de la juger, épuisent en quelque sorte son admiration,¹ et lui servent de modèles sur lesquels il juge toutes les productions du même genre. ...²

These models may hardly be surpassed,³ so perfectly are they adapted to their circumstances, not only as regards *la beauté physique*, but as to the degree of *beauté morale* of which a given society is capable.⁴ In this manner, apparently, is Corneille, like Homer, relatively perfect. The conclusion of the 1805 article confirms this interpretation of Bonald: taste is related to *mœurs*, and as in the seventeenth century France *mœurs* had reached a point of relative perfection, so had taste and so, among other arts, had drama.⁵

Bonald not only tempers thus even his most absolute mood but there are moments when he becomes superlatively relativistic. In speaking, for example, of "les rapports généraux et secrets qui existent entre l'état de la société et celui de la littérature dramatique" he insists that

Ces rapports maîtrisent le poète; ils maîtrisent le spectateur; et il faut pour s'en défendre ... une grande force d'esprit et de talent, une grande fermeté de principes, et une connaissance approfondie de ce qui est essentiellement beau et bon, dans tous les lieux, dans tous les temps et malgré toutes les révolutions. Mais il en résulte cette vérité, qui doit rendre le vrai talent plus modeste et la critique plus indulgente: c'est que les beautés dans les productions des arts appartiennent, plus qu'on ne pense, à la société; et que les erreurs sont plus souvent la faute du siècle que celle de l'homme.⁶

For 1807 this is highly relativistic, and it is to this principle that Bonald occasionally and momentarily declares his unqualified adherence. In his book on *Divorce*, of which the date is 1801, we find a formula as bold as any of Taine's: "un livre suffit pour peindre un siècle."⁷ And in a private letter of considerably later date,

¹ Cf. III, 1109: "La nature n'est pas épuisée, mais l'idée du beau est remplie; et les besoins de la société sont satisfaits, parce qu'elle ne demande du nouveau que pour avoir le bon."

² III, 1107.

³ Bonald recommends models, but not rules; cf. II, 297.

⁴ Cf. III, 831. Here Bonald, shifting terms again, speaks not of the physical but of the finite. The style of Racine, he is arguing, is unsurpassable; style is finite in each language, the human spirit can achieve the perfection of a finite object, and Racine has done so. Morally Racine may be improved upon; like his contemporaries he perhaps drew too much upon pagan subjects.

⁵ III, 1048-50.

⁶ III, 880.

⁷ II, 29.

1824, in which he refers once more (note his tenacity) to his thesis that literature is the expression of society he writes:

Aussi à voir la littérature d'un peuple, dont on ne connaîtrait pas l'histoire, on pourrait dire ce qu'il a été, et à lire l'histoire d'un peuple dont on ne connaîtrait pas la littérature on pourrait aussi dire avec certitude quel a dû être le caractère dominant de cette littérature.¹

The generalization is no doubt reckless and indefensible, yet it is inspired by a sense of the interrelation of phenomena that would do credit to many of the historical critics of the nineteenth century. The point of view of Cousin is no other, nor that of Taine, with his *problèmes de mécanique physiologique*. Professor Baldensperger, discussing the application of Bonald's thesis in a general theory of criticism, differentiates between literature as the *expression* of society and literature as the *description* of society and refers to the progress made since Bonald:

Déjà, chez Taine, la littérature aboutissait ... à être un peu plus que l'expression de la société, c'est-à-dire l'implicite aveu des dispositions d'un groupe déterminé—directions ou tendances autant que réalités actuelles. Elle en devenait ... la *description*, c'est-à-dire une façon de calquer heureux qui faisait coïncider sur tous les points les traits d'une époque dans la vie réelle et dans l'art.²

There are numerous examples in Bonald of the earlier point of view to which Professor Baldensperger refers,³ and even in the latter part of his life, as illustrated by his comments upon *Hernani*, which begin: "Notre littérature (expression de la société) le dispute de désordre et de déraison à notre politique."⁴ But surely in the 1824 letter just quoted, and in a few other cases,⁵ there is indicated a coincidence of a work of literature with its immediate circumstances no less complete than with Taine.

¹ Moulinié, *Lettres inédites de Bonald*, Paris, Alcan, 1915, p. 146. Cf. Bonald, I, 844: "Le progrès des lettres est donc le résultat nécessaire de la constitution. ..." This last is of 1796. And yet Brunetière writes: "Sous l'influence de Mme de Staël et de Chateaubriand, si l'on n'admet pas encore que l'œuvre d'art soit une simple résultante, on s'accoutume du moins à l'idée qu'elle est un *exemplaire* de l'état général des esprits. Cette idée, vous la trouverez ... dans ... Cousin" (*op. cit.*, p. 202).

² *La Littérature, création, succès, durée*. Paris, Flammarion, 1913, pp. 184-85.

³ Cf. Ancelet, *Eloge de Bonald*, pronounced at the Académie Française, July 15, 1841, where the author, referring to the famous aphorism of Bonald, takes this earlier point of view (I, xxxiii).

⁴ "Bonald d'après sa correspondance inédite," *Études publiées par des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome 87, p. 630. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 499. Cf. also Bonald, III, 671.

⁵ Cf. especially III, 1174: "une parfaite et nécessaire harmonie."

Such determinism naturally leads far beyond any problems merely literary, and Bonald makes a few exceedingly wide applications of his principle:

Nous voyons l'homme et la société à travers nos goûts, nos passions, nos désirs, notre position, notre âge, même notre santé; et il y a bien peu d'esprits assez fermes pour se faire une opinion indépendante de toutes ces choses.¹

... Toutes les expressions de l'homme moral, la physionomie, l'accent, la voix, l'habitude du corps, sont hors du domaine de la volonté de l'homme, et par conséquent hors de la sphère de ses inventions.²

Bonald is preparing the way for the doctrine that *tout se tient*,³ he is even leading, unconsciously and by a traditionalism which would seem to be of a very different color, to the view that like vitriol and sugar vice and virtue are products.⁴

It is very difficult to decide in what measure this determinism or relativism is deliberate, and no doubt dangerous to give some of Bonald's statements an interpretation inspired by subsequent developments. He himself is quite unaware of all the consequences of the doctrine and certainly had he foreseen some of them he would have retreated into the most uncompromising absolutism.⁵ Faguet thinks Bonald was afraid of the theory of evolution.⁶ Was not the

¹ III, 1347 (*Pensées*).

² III, 141.

³ Cf. III, 1035, on "les rapports infinis qui existent."

⁴ Another relationship between Bonald and Taine, based on their realism, is discussed by Moulinié, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 437: "Le réalisme conduit au relativisme." Cf. Bourget, "Le Réalisme de Bonald," *Etudes et Portraits*, Paris, Plon, 1906.

There are moments when Bonald would seem to suggest Taine's theory of race. Cf. I, 295, where he says of the French: "J'observe avec attention ce peuple, mêlé de Romains, de Gaulois et de Germains, et je crois apercevoir dans son caractère la fierté nationale du Romain, l'impétuosité du Gaulois, la franchise du Germain; comme je retrouve, dans ses manières, l'urbanité du premier, la vivacité du second, la simplicité du dernier."

Cf., however, Dimier, *les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, Paris, 1907, p. 76: "Par un trait de vocabulaire des plus heureusement inspirés, Bonald appelle ce qui distingue une nation, non pas la *race* mais le *caractère*. Les nations ne sont pas l'œuvre de la nécessité physique, mais de l'homme cultivé, dressé, perfectionné par les institutions." Dimier writes as a militant dogmatist, but in this case he seems to be correct. The connection with Taine is tenuous.

⁵ Cf. III, 964, a vigorous objection to the biological interpretation of man. Cf. also, III, 1149; III, 398. But he does not always draw such a sharp line between nature and human nature. Cf. III, 1296, an analogy between the society of ants and that of man, an idea, however, which Bonald does not carry to its consequences. In so many cases he was building better (or if one prefers, worse) than he knew.

⁶ *Politiques et Moralistes du 19^e siècle*. Paris, 1891, I, 102-3.

fear due to recognition of the force of the argument? Does he not profit from familiarity with the subject of his denunciation? And in so far as Bonald is relativistic in spite of himself, does he not prove the power of the rising tide of relativism in France?—a conclusion as interesting and important as any concerning his originality.

It has been noticed that Bonald resembles Condillac. Their doctrines have several points in common,¹ and doubtless Bonald, never averse to applying to his own purposes the arguments of his opponents,² was influenced by Condillac, with whose work he was very familiar and frequently at variance.

As to his relationship to Mme de Staël, there is no positive evidence that he made use of her *Littérature*, a book of which, in spite of the general sensation that Vinet says it caused,³ Bonald does not even seem particularly aware.⁴ Although he kept on with his relativistic criticism after the appearance of this work, it has been seen that the essential point of his thesis about literature as the expression of society was made years earlier.⁵ Was she influenced by him?⁶ We think not, in spite of the resemblances. It is true that like Bonald she insists particularly upon the influence of religion and politics;⁷ like him she makes a sharp distinction, for the arts, between *l'imagination*, more or less local, and *les idées morales*, universal;⁸

¹ Condillac, we have seen, believes that "la philosophie est de toutes les nations, mais la poésie est toujours strictement nationale." Bonald means precisely the same thing, in spite of the apparent differences, when he writes: "La poésie est de tous les peuples, de tous les temps, de tous les climats et partout le même quant aux sentiments; elle ne diffère que par les images" (I, 423). They urge the same kind of empiricism, they have similar views of the futility of imitating the literature of the ancients, and of the attainment of a maximum of beauty in a given genre. They arrive, thanks to their basic principle, at a similar hierarchy of tastes. Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

² Witness his citing Rousseau in support of his own theory of the origin of language.

³ Vinet, *Etudes sur la littérature française au XIXe siècle*, Paris, Fischbacher, I, 52.

⁴ Bonald knew Mme de Staël personally and wrote a refutation of her book on the Revolution (II, 593 ff.). In a list of her works he omits the *Littérature* (II, 593). Cf. II, 594: "Sa doctrine politique est toute en illusions, sa doctrine religieuse en préventions ou en préjugés, et sa doctrine littéraire en paradoxes." In one reference (II, 631) he speaks of her determinism.

⁵ Mme de Staël's *Essai sur les Fictions* (1795) contains almost no suggestion of a relationship between literature and society.

⁶ Moulins's list (*op. cit.*, p. 29, note), of the few people who had copies of the first edition of the *Théorie du Pouvoir* (promptly suppressed in 1796 and not republished until 1843) does not include Mme de Staël.

⁷ Cf. the passages quoted by Brunetière, *op. cit.*, p. 175. Cf. *Littérature* (2e édition), I, 4, 28, 98, 110; II, 1, note, etc.

⁸ Cf. *Littérature*, I, 192 ("l'imagination ... les idées philosophiques"). Cf. also I, 132, 173, 250 ("l'imagination ... la pensée"), etc.

in a similar manner she thinks that a given literature, from the point of view of imagination, may reach relatively soon a saturation point,¹ and is equally sure, when she considers *la beauté morale*, of an advance, no doubt slow, toward a remote, and, for her, sufficiently vague, perfection.² She has, furthermore, a similar gift, or curse, of irrelevance, a characteristic to be found frequently among the relativists, and she is likewise inclined, as one handling a new doctrine, to overstatement followed by retractions that constitute a denial of the original proposition.³ And like Bonald she looks back with composure at the infancy of civilization, equally serene in her conviction that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the world can no longer be charged even with adolescence.⁴ But here we approach characteristics of a whole period. And these two individual writers are in many respects as antipodal as liberalism and conservatism, as the romantic and the classic, as enthusiasm and order; and while Bonald writes much of his criticism to prove that the Revolution was noxious, Mme de Staël, no less partisan, is anxious to demonstrate that the Revolution may be a boon for letters. How singular then that in literary criticism, although Mme de Staël is incomparably more expert, they should have had much the same principles! In the absence of evidence that they made use of each other's works, we conjecture, applying ourselves a relativistic law, that both were becoming aware of a relativism which was beginning to pervade everything and that both were making concessions to it, Bonald more or less unconsciously, Mme de Staël eagerly. In fine, they were subject to the same pressure.

¹ I, 208-9; "les arts ont un terme. ..." Cf. I, 97: "Il est impossible, je le répète, de dépasser une certaine borne dans les arts, même dans le premier de tous, la poésie." Whence the prophecy, astonishing for the beginning of the nineteenth century, that imaginative poetry will make no further progress in France (II, 187.)

² I, 239: "Lorsque la littérature d'imagination a atteint dans une langue le plus haut degré de perfection dont elle est susceptible, il faut que le siècle suivant appartienne à la philosophie, pour que l'esprit humain ne cesse pas de faire des progrès." Cf. I, 84: "Mais cette objection tombe, si l'on n'applique le système de perfectibilité qu'aux progrès des idées, et non aux merveilles de l'imagination." Cf. I, 12.

³ Cf. I, 246: "Le génie le plus remarquable ne s'élève jamais au-dessus des lumières de son siècle, que d'un petit nombre de degrés," and I, 271: "Un tel livre (*le Prince*) est dû tout entier au génie de l'auteur; il n'a point de rapports avec le caractère général de la littérature italienne."

⁴ Cf. I, 90. How far they both are, and Hugo in much greater degree in his *Préface de Cromwell*, from any such relativism as is later to find expression in Renan (e.g., in the Preface to the *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*)!

Was Condillac a common source?¹ Here we approach a larger problem which would lead beyond the limits of the present discussion of the element of relativism in Bonald. Ultimately all of these writers must be placed where they belong in the history of the development of the relativistic point of view in criticism, but this cannot be undertaken without a treatment of the entire subject. It is known who are the outstanding figures, Sainte-Beuve, Taine, Renan; among the numerous pioneers would be Du Bos,² perhaps Muralt, certainly Condillac.³ A careful study of the genesis of the movement will give the perspective necessary for a final assessment of Bonald. One should make no extravagant claims for him, nor give undue emphasis to casual comment. The fact that he once remarks: "la déference d'un jeune homme pour sa mère prend quelquefois un air de galanterie tout à fait choquant"⁴ does not constitute an anticipation of the Œdipus Complex. But he undoubtedly made a significant contribution to "le principe fécond qui devait véritablement renouveler la critique littéraire au XIX^e siècle,"⁵ and, as Faguet remarks of Bonald in an entirely different context,⁶ so certainly it may be affirmed here that "cet homme du passé avait dans son esprit beaucoup d'avenir."

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¹ As regards Mme de Staël, cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

² Bonald had evidently read Du Bos (III, 854).

³ We have Taine's own word for credit due not only to Sainte-Beuve but to Stendhal (*Histoire de la Littérature anglaise*, Introduction, p. viii). Faguet was perhaps inspired by Taine when he ranks Stendhal so highly as a pioneer relativist in the Petit de Julleville article on the author of *Racine et Shakespeare*. There is lack of co-ordination in Petit de Julleville; Faguet takes no account of the claims of originality made on behalf of Mme de Staël. The whole situation is still nebulous.

⁴ III, 463, note.

⁵ Petit de Julleville, VII, 98, in the chapter on Mme de Staël, whose *Littérature*, it is stated, "montre la route à la critique de l'avenir." There is no mention of Bonald here nor in the chapter on the literary critics of the First Empire, who (p. 145) "n'eurent pas de fenêtres ouvertes sur l'avenir."

⁶ *Politiques et Moralistes du 19^e siècle*, Paris, 1891, I, 98.

LEVENOTH AND THE GRATEFUL DEAD

Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*¹ is the fullest authority for the edifying anecdote told of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.² "De hoc Bartholomaeo venerabili viro fama refert notissima, et, cum scripti quod idem episcopus confecit testimonio, crebra ejusdem relatio, quod cum, lucro animarum devotus intendens, parrochiam suam visitaret, in villa quadam campestri cum suis clericis forte pernoctavit." Lodging in an upstairs room overlooking the churchyard, he woke about midnight to find the night-light extinguished, and sent out his chamberlain to fetch fire. While waiting the bishop clearly heard *quandam vocem puerilem* saying repeatedly, "Riseth op, alle Cristes icorne, Levenoth ure fader of pis wrold fundeth"; and other childish voices weeping and saying, "Vae nobis! vae nobis! Quis amodo pro nobis orabit et elemosinas dabit? vel pro nostra salute missas celebrabit? Migrat ab hoc seculo noster consolator Levenothus." The first voice cried in a more solemn tone "Requiescat in pace," and the others responded "Amen." The chamberlain, presently returning with fire from the end of the village, reported that he had found a lighted house and a man just dead; a man given to charity, who had maintained a priest to say masses and offices for the dead, and whose name was Levenoth. The bishop provided for the perpetual continuance of these rites, himself said mass for Levenoth, and had him buried.³

The anecdote is clearly a mere appropriating and localizing of a familiar type of medieval story, which itself seems a late development from the widespread Grateful Dead theme, a Christianized and clericalized development, of which there are many examples. In particular, there are various cases where souls make the responses in offices for the dead, sometimes to help a departed benefactor. In a Latin sermon, for instance, a boy often stops to pray for the dead on his way to school, and is whipped for being late. He dies, and at his

¹ I, 312-14 (Rolls Series, 1866).

² From 1162 to 1184 (Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglic.*, p. 48).

³ There is a garbled reference to the vision in the account of Bartholomew in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Brit.-Hib.*, p. 78. The versicle and response are from the *Missae Defunctorum*, replacing the "Ite missa est" at the end of most masses.

funeral, when the priest sings "Requiescat in pace," the souls of all those buried in the cemetery respond "Amen."¹ Messrs. Crane, Klapper, and J. A. Herbert guide us to like stories. The dead respond similarly in a story told of St. Germanus by Odo of Cheriton (early thirteenth century), who tells one or two other such. In a late fifteenth-century manuscript in Breslau, a priest, as he sang "Requiescant in pace" at the end of the mass, "subito respiciens vidit ecclesiam plenam homuncionibus ad mensuram digiti adorantes super genua sua," who all cried "Amen," and we must not doubt were delivered by his prayers. In the collections which contain the above of course there are many other examples of the usefulness of prayers for the dead.² The feeble childish voices of the dead are paralleled not only by the little people the height of a finger, but in the offices for the dead described in the Middle English *Gast of Gy*; after *Agnus Dei* the voice of the ghost was heard:

A febyll voyce þan might þai ken
Als of a child sayand: 'Amen.'³

Bishop Bartholomew was a highly distinguished man, called by Pope Alexander III one of the two great lights of the English church. He is no unfair specimen of the men who made the church of those centuries, the kind of man we meet when we get into the Middle Ages as they really were. His personality stands out with precision. Sharp and clever in speech, tactful and diplomatic, he was good at adapting means to ends, at compromising in season, and was in demand for commissions and embassies.⁴ This was not his only vision; when others were having visions of the martyred Thomas, he

¹ Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 14961: Hauréau in *Notices et extraits des MSS*, XXXIII, 1, 317 (date of MS not given).

² Jos. Klapper, *Exempla aus HSS des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg, 1911; *Sammlung mittellatein. Texte*, No. 2), Nos. 17 and 38; T. F. Crane in *Mod. Philol.*, X, 302 ff.; *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the Brit. Mus.*, III, 383, 463, 464. On the more primitive theme see G. H. Gerould, *The Grateful Dead* (London, 1907-8; *Publ. of Folk-Lore Soc.*, Vol. LX). Among other earlier cases of voices from graves is St. Augustine's tale, that in his own presence voices of congratulation were heard from the tomb of St. Stephen after a miracle of healing by his relics (*De Civitate Dei* XXII. vii. 22).

³ *Palæstra*, I, 12, ll. 209-10: in the Latin source, "cum peruenti fuerint ad illud dictum 'Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem,' audiebant vnam vocem tenuem pueri dicentem: 'Amen.'" We remember Virgil's "vocem exiguum" of the shades (*Aeneid* vi. 492-93), and their squeaks in Homer (*ἄγχοι τερπύγνια*, etc., *Iliad*, xxiii. 101, *Odyssey* xxiv. 5-9), as well as Horatio's "sheeted dead did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets."

⁴ During the Becket troubles he kept in with both sides, advised *dissimulationem* and was called by the archbishop a coward. He was the only bishop taking part in the coronation of the young Henry who escaped excommunication. See the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, and the references there given, especially Gerald de Barri and the Becket materials.

had one, just as when others were being cured of illness through the new saint's intercession and relics, he was cured of a fever and pleurisy.¹

The history of the anecdote is curious, and also suggestive. Matthew Paris had already had it in his *Chronicon Majus*² in a shorter form, which he had taken from Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*,³ where it first appears. In both it is practically identical and lacks various particulars, the chief being the statement that the bishop often related the story and had put it in writing, the name of Levenoth uttered by the souls and learned by the chamberlain, the English words of the souls, their liturgical prayer for him, the bishop saying mass and burying him. So the earlier version is based on common hearsay (*fama notissima*) and tells merely of the childish voices, their lament for the loss of someone who had provided masses for them, the discovery that such a man had just died, and the bishop's provision for continuing his pious work.

Without detailing the literary history of these three chronicles, it is clear that the earliest text dates some fifty years after the bishop's death, since Roger wrote about 1231-36. But Luard and Gross believed with good reason that down to 1188 he used a chronicle by John de Cella, who was abbot of St. Albans, 1195-1214, and evidently dropped his historical work in 1188. The anecdote is in this part, which brings us to within four years of the bishop's death at latest, and probably earlier yet, to his lifetime.⁴ The simpler form of the story sounds far too modest for a pious fraud. The dream or fancy and the coincidence may have really happened, especially if Bartholomew was traveling "with his mind piously fixed on benefiting the departed," as is said, perhaps on a mission to promote such devotions.

The juge dremeth how his plees ben sped.

Or the bishop may have heard real passers-by bewailing this charitable person. He was evidently the kind of man to make the most of a

¹ The vision is related by his contemporary Benedict of Peterborough, the cure in a letter from the clergy of his cathedral to the Canterbury monks (*Mater. Hist. Th. Becket*, II, 28; I, 407). He also gave St. Hugh of Lincoln a long account of the rescue of a woman from her demon lover by means of St. John's wort (*Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, V, viii).

² II, 216-18 (Rolls Series), edited by Luard.

³ I, 18-20 (Rolls Series), edited by Hewlett.

⁴ In all versions it is chronicled along with Bartholomew's consecration, but it must have occurred later, since he was traveling as a bishop. In all of them it is told as if it were the most interesting thing about him. But it is omitted from the *Flores Historiarum*, once attributed to the imaginary Matthew of Westminster, and mainly based on Paris' *Chron. Maj.*

remarkable experience which would serve his ends. The fuller form of the story, with its heightening and legendary detail, was a later invention. Matthew Paris wrote his longer *Chronicon* after 1236, and clearly had no account but Roger's, or he would have included the striking new details; in 1250, sixty or seventy years after the bishop's death, when he based on it his condensed *Historia Anglorum*, he had found or devised the more impressive account, and broke his rule by enlarging. The fact that the two accounts closely agree in wording except for a short addition here and there indicates that someone in the monastery had made over the earlier version by interpolations in the margin of the copy kept there, or by deliberate re-writing. If Matthew had had an account supposedly written by the bishop, he would have substituted that.¹

In any case we cannot often trace more fully the history of a pious fabrication. If we may take these explanations as fairly probable, we may also take them as a miniature of the history of many medieval stories among those which are not purely oral-traditional; a history not of "insensible growth," or of forgetfulness or confusion, but of a starting-point, historical or invented, and deliberate modifications, often with a purely practical motive. Mysticism and needless assumption of lost versions dim the rationality and humanity of the Middle Ages.²

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¹ There is no reason whatever for believing that Roger invented the story, as Luard thought merely because he did not find it elsewhere. It is true that Bishop Bartholomew was a Breton, with no apparent connection with St. Albans Abbey, and that the story is found only in the series of chronicles written there; but the St. Albans historiographers were exceedingly well informed, and the bishop was well known all over the country. We can trace the later better than the earlier history of the anecdote, since Matthew Paris' original MS of the *Hist. Anglorum* is extant, and also the very copy of the *Chron. Majus* on which he based it (Madden's edition of the former, I. xxxviii, xlix, liii). Matthew Paris himself certainly touched up the account a little, since in his later and fuller version the second occurrence of the name of Levenoth (in the Latin lament) and the bishop's mass and burial of him are added in his own handwriting in the margin of his original copy. That they were not added immediately is shown by the fact that some of the MSS lack these details, and must have been copied before their insertion. Since he did this much to make the account complete and impressive, he may well have done the rest. It would be uncritical to resent this suspicion of the eminent Matthew. An enormous amount of deliberate fabrication was done in the Middle Ages by men who were as upright as most people, and the "plous" took the curse off the "fraud." For the literary facts as to the above, see the introductions to these various chronicles in editions by Madden, Luard and Hewlett, and Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials*, III, 80 (all in the Rolls Series); also *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* and Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History*.

² It is good to reread now and then J. M. Manly's "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," in *Modern Philology*, IV, 577-95.

CHARLES OF ORLÉANS AND ANNE MOLYNEUX

Among the French poems of Charles, Duke of Orléans, preserved in a half-score manuscripts, are found eleven written in English. The Duke's twenty-five years as a prisoner in England after Agincourt make it not at all improbable that he learned enough of the language to manipulate it, though somewhat stiffly, in these brief love-poems.

The details of Charles's residence in England are not fully collected, perhaps not recorded. We know that he was strictly guarded from intercourse with Frenchmen, but what his social relations with English people were we do not know. It is therefore an interesting glimpse which we obtain from the following poem, one of Charles's English compositions.

Alas mercy wher shal myn hert yow fynd
Neuer had he wyth yow ful aquaintans
Now com to hym and put of hys greuans
Ellys ye be vnto your frend vnkynd

Mercy he hath euer yow in hys mynd
Ous let hym haue sum conforth of plesans
Alas mercy &c.

Let hym not dey but mak at ons a uende
In al hys woo an right hevy penans
Noght is the help that whyl not hym avans
Slauth hys to me and euer com be hynde
Alas mercy &c.¹

Leaving out of consideration the refrain verses, we have here the name *Anne Molins* given by the line initials. She must have been a member of the important Moleyns or Molyneux family, whose most conspicuous member during the period was Adam de Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, keeper of the Privy Seal, and associate of the Earl of Suffolk in bringing over Margaret of Anjou for the marriage with Henry VI. Both a sister and a niece of Adam de Moleyns bore the name Anne, and it appears in other branches of the family.

¹ MS Bibl. Nat., fonds français 25458, p. 311.

The political connection between Suffolk (who was for years Charles's jailer) and Adam de Moleyns may account for an Anne de Moleyns in Charles's verse; but the family had many ramifications. One branch was linked in various ways with Thomas Chaucer; we find him asking in 1431 for the wardship of an infant Eleanor Moleyns,¹ whom he had fetched home from the "water of Leyre" with archers, men-at-arms, and women; and we hear Lydgate, in his poem on Thomas Chaucer's departure,² condole with "gentyl Moleyns" for the temporary loss of his "playing feere." But whether the Anne Moleyns whom Orléans addresses is of the Lancashire or the Oxfordshire branch we do not know.

Charles is here using a device sufficiently common in courtly poetry, although I have not noted it in his French verse. To several cases in Wyatt I called attention in *Modern Language Notes* for December, 1922; and Skelton's poem printed by Dyce (I, 25) spells *Kateryn* with its stanza initials. The mere Christian name suggests little; but the appearance of the surname here, of a surname rich in associations, stirs the tapestry. Charles's mechanical verse takes life from a living name.

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¹ *Proc. Privy Council*, IV (ed. Nicolas), 98-99.

² Printed, e.g., *Modern Philology*, I, 331-35.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Early "Entremés" in Spain: The Rise of a Dramatic Form. By WILLIAM SHAFFER JACK. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, "Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures," No. 8. Philadelphia, 1923. Pp. 136.

Students of the sixteenth-century drama especially will extend a welcome to this study of the *entremés* from its beginnings until the time of Cervantes.

In the first chapter the term *entremés* is followed from its earliest occurrence in Spain (1381), and while this date has not been pushed farther back, the origin of the term has been convincingly traced from France through Provence into Catalan and Spanish literature. The peninsular documents, mainly supplied by Milá and Mérimée, are skilfully used to show the passage from the gastronomic stage (which the word has in common with *farsa* and *sainete*) of a set piece at dinner, to a show piece, allegorical, often religious, eventually set in motion on wheels, gradually assuming living human form and finding a voice, touched by the comic spirit, and finally passing on to the stage. There, as further chapters show, it eventually developed from inconspicuous bits of comic relief, mostly practical jokes, into a literary *genre*, essentially secondary or dependent, perhaps, but with entirely definite characteristics. With all that, of course, its position in the stage performance, its frequency, its use of prose or verse have varied, yet within limits now definitely ascertained. The types prevailing at given times have been indicated, although on this point there is probably room for further investigation.

The reference to English pageantry (p. 14 n.) suggests that Spanish pageantry, when it shall be studied as it deserves, may prove significant for the early development of the *entremés*. This also applies to the allegorical tournament, just as little known, and to the dumb show. The "Profecía de Evangelista"¹ says: "salirán las gentes ... al campo, cada officio con su *entremés*." Guild pageantry, definitely popular, seems to provide the most natural opening for the comic element. This would lead eventually to such "entremeses de enamoraments, alcavotarias e altres actes desonestes e reprobat's" as are complained of in 1442, and which would be best explained by the reference to Horozco's *Memoria* (used on pp. 69-70), or to the humorous *fallas* (*invenciones*!) which still arise each year on the street corners of Valencia, and are burned, traditionally, on the day of San José. The quotation from Bances' *Candamo* (pp. 19-20) is hardly pertinent here, and may be used to better advantage to illustrate the connection between the *entremés* and the *commedia dell'arte*. Indeed, the playlet referred to by Bances is a popular

¹ Late fifteenth century; *Zeits. f. rom. phil.*, I, 245.

scenario known as *El estudiante*,¹ which twenty years ago was still alive in the Andalusian countryside.

The relation between *entremés* and *auto* indicated on page 15 ("And herein lies a strange thing . . .") is not clear. Of course, the latter term, at that time, has a broad generic meaning (as in the *Doctrinal de caballeros*) and covers *entremés* together with much else. On page 22 read 1413 instead of 1513. The meaning of *entremés* = "joke," "trick" (pp. 21 ff.), is well illustrated. Other references may be added, e.g., from the "Glosas sobre el tratado de Mingo Revulgo"² and Francisco de Ávila, "La Vida y la Muerte."³ Hernando de Herrera⁴ calls the different *levadas* of his treatise *auto*, *disputa*, and (the fourth) *entremés*. Palau certainly made abundant use of the term.⁵ In Portugal, Sá de Miranda used it in the same sense,⁶ and it endured in Spain as late as Salas Barbadillo.⁷

Passing to the definition of the *entremés* (pp. 24 ff.), there seems to be no reason for assuming that Lope in his *Arte Nuevo* referred to Rueda's *Armelinea*. That Father José Alcázar was acquainted with Caramuel's *Rhythmica*, in fact did no more than paraphrase it, is easily ascertained.⁸

The second chapter, partly published in the "Publications of the Modern Language Association," brings a thorough survey of the sixteenth-century drama for such subordinate, comic parts as may be considered embryonic *entremeses*. Next to the excursus on the origin of the word *entremés*, this is probably the most valuable part of the study. Neither the reference (p. 76) in Palau's *Santa Orosia* nor the one in the *Crotalón* need have any dramatic implication.

Allegorical church-*entremeses*, such as the one in Toledo in 1557,⁹ are outside the main line of development; not so the attendant comic "*máscaras con diversas invenciones*"¹⁰ which probably have a direct bearing on the stage *entremés*.

It may be that the *entremeses indecentes* against which Mariana protested were of this ambulant kind, that is, really *máscaras*, like the one described by Horozco. Also, the *entremeses* which Gregorio Silvestre is supposed to have written were probably arrangements for a kind of church-*máscaras*, in which music played an important part. Thus the *entremés* merges into the *ensalada* and the *villancico de Navidad*.

¹ Cf. Montoto y Sedas, *Representaciones dramáticas en Andalucía* (Seville, 1904), No. 10 in the list.

² Late fifteenth century (?); Gallardo, I, 836.

³ Ap. Gallardo, I (1508), 336.

⁴ "Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotil" (ed. Bonilla), 1517, *Rev. hisp.*, Vol. L.

⁵ Add *Custodia del Hombre*, 1. 2432; "Victoria de Christo," ap. Rouanet, IV, 386.

⁶ *Poesías* (ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos), p. 255.

⁷ "El Cavallero puntual (1619)" (ed. Cotarelo), II, 215.

⁸ Cf. Gallardo, I, s.v. "Alcázar."

⁹ Cañete, *Lucas Fernández*, p. 96.

¹⁰ As in Placencia, in 1578; cf. Carvajal, *Josefina*, p. lxxiii.

In chapter iii the point is well made (p. 76) that *passo* is merely a temporary name for the *entremés*. To early examples of *passo* with probable dramatic connotation may be added Pedro Sánchez' *Cuatro pasos de la pasión*, 1533, a lost play, and the speeches of the *Faraule* (I and II) in Carvajal's *Josefina*. Villalobos used it in the Proemio of his *Anfitrión* (1515), which may account for a similar passage in Timoneda's adaptation. In 1603 Pedro Navarro still used it in the same way in his *Comedia* on the Griselda theme. An uncommon meaning of the word is found in Villalón's *Crotolón*,¹ "passos, ó lo que los antiguos llamaron palestras ó estadios."

The fact that many *entremeses* are "practical jokes" should, perhaps, have been more emphasized. These may often be traced into popular medieval literature, as here, notably in the case of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, with a consequent better understanding of their acting. The practical joke played on the *Vizcayno* in the second act of Timoneda's *Aurelia* can be understood only by remembering it as a part of a medieval process of rejuvenation which included blowing into a pipe which was filled with soot, and is best illustrated by a Dutch medieval playlet entitled *Buskenblaser*.

The mention of a "really beautiful little playlet . . . entitled *Amor vengado*" (p. 95) should not raise any false hopes. It is definitely the property of Alonso de la Vega since it is the *introito* of his *Duquesa de la Rosa*, disguised as a *passo* by Eugenio de Ochoa.

In chapter iv (p. 99) a reference to the unhappy Grisóstomo in *Don Quixote* as an example of local playwrights would have been pertinent. There is an interesting suggestion that Melchora in the *Entremés de las Esteras* may be referring to Rueda's lawsuit against the Duke of Medinaceli. To make Saldaña into an *entremesista* (p. 102) is tempting and plausible, yet, in other passages of the same play² the word *entremés* merely refers to a comical situation or a practical joke. Concerning *El Mundo y No Nadie* a reference should have been made to Schevill's article on the subject.³ Also, in view of Menéndez Pidal's recent article,⁴ it is perhaps unwise to deny (p. 121) categorically Adolfo de Castro's thesis on the *Entremés de los Romances*.

The notes on the Italian *intermezzi* are pertinent, but there seems to be little point in the numerous notes on the German *Zwischenspiel*. The development of at least the term *sainete*, beginning even earlier than that of *passo*, might fitly have been touched upon. Gil Vicente might have been considered. The author's translation of *entremés* as "passing-scene" or "passing-play" (presumably from musical terminology) has little to recommend it. The "Mantuano" in the Foreword is the "Bachiller Mantuano," i.e., of Madrid, namely, A. Bonilla y San Martín.

Altogether, the work has been well done. The general line of development of the *entremés* still follows accepted ideas and no landmarks have been

¹ *Orig. de la Novela*, II, 123.

² *Comedia del Tutor*, I, 338, 377.

³ *Rev. crit. hisp.-amer.*, I, 30-37.

⁴ *Un aspecto en la elaboración de "El Quijote,"* Madrid, 1920.

changed. But the intermediate steps are now fairly definite—as definite, indeed, as available documents permit. A large and sometimes intricate mass of material has been methodically ordered, digested, and discussed with acumen and judgment, and thus much precision has been added to an important part of Spanish literary history.

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La Tragédie française et le Théâtre hollandais au dix-septième siècle.

I^e partie: L'influence de Corneille. By J. BAUWENS. Amsterdam, 1921.

The first fifty-six pages of this thesis "pour le doctorat d'université" (Paris) are irrelevant to its main object, and consist of a survey of the Dutch-Flemish literature up to the seventeenth century, based upon such generally known works as the histories of Dutch literature of Jonckbloet, Te Winckel, and G. Kalf. This résumé is interspersed with diatribes against "the genius of the Dutch race," which, according to Dr. Bauwens, is essentially utilitarian, heavy, and anti-poetical. If the translations of Corneille's plays are inferior to their originals, he argues, it is because the Dutch *génie national* is materialistic and as such opposed to the French point of view.

In literary history such abstract generalizations explain nothing. The practical materialism of the Dutch-Flemish "national soul" has not prevented it from producing mystic authors like Sister Hadewijch, Thomas à Kempis, or Jan van Ruusbroeck; mystic painters like Van Eyck, Memlinc, or Petrus Christus; or theologians and philosophers like Jansenius and Justus Lipsius. The aristocratic distinction of a Van Dijck argues against the inherent heaviness of the Dutch "national genius," and the super-realism of Rembrandt or Rubens is animated by a lyricism which lifts it far above mere imitation of reality as such. Fixed artistic qualities or defects are the privilege or the affliction of individuals and, if the translations of Corneille into Dutch are inferior, it is simply because the translators were inferior artists. The same deterioration is noticed in German or English translations of the same Cornelian plays, but we do not think of invoking the "national soul" of these countries to explain these individual shortcomings.

The documentation of Dr. Bauwens' study is by no means complete. He overlooks the existence of Michel de Swaen's translation of the *Cid*, of 1694, as well as the translation of *Cinna* by the same author. It is true that the latter work remained in manuscript until 1774, but nevertheless it belongs to the same group of seventeenth-century translations as those studied in this thesis. Passing mention, at least, ought to have been made of the fact that Simon van der Gruyssen—the translator of *Othon*—adapted in 1684 Corneille's *Illusion comique* to the stage as *De waarschijnlijke Tovery*. Dr. Bauwens devotes several pages to G. Bidlo's translation of *Pompée* (1684) but overlooks the existence of a contemporary pamphlet criticizing Bidlo's work: "Dicht

kundig Onderzoek op het vertaald treurspel Pompejus, door het Konstgenootschap In Magno voluisse sat est." Several members of this important society collaborated in this volume, which accuses the translator of understanding neither French nor Dutch syntax and prosody. This literary quarrel is of importance for Corneille's fame in Holland and would have completed Dr. Bauwen's survey.

In tracing the spread of Cornelian translations in Holland, Dr. Bauwens fails to make adequate use of the number of editions to show their relative success. Van Heemskerck's translation of the *Cid* had at least seven editions before 1700 and three after that date, whereas De Swaen's counted only one. Jan de Witt's translation of *Horace* counted at least six issues until 1700, but Bidlo's translation of *Pompée* was only printed twice, etc.

Another shortcoming of the work is occasioned by the mistake of ending the seventeenth century arbitrarily with the year 1700. For this reason Dr. Bauwens includes in his study, for instance, the translation of *Polyeucte*, of 1696, by Frans Rijk, but excludes the translation of *Tite et Bérénice*, of 1714, by Seibrand Feitams. Other translations which have thus been neglected, although illustrating the vogue of Corneille in Holland, are: *Pertharite*, translated by S. Feitama, 1723; *Oedipe*, translated by B. Huydecoper, 1720; *Théodore*, translated by Jan van Doesburg, 1715; *Suréna*, translated by P. van Loghem, 1738, etc.

The dates of the translations of Corneille show conclusively that the high-water mark of his influence in Holland must be placed between 1680 and 1725. Only three translations, studied by Dr. Bauwens, appeared before 1680; nine were published after that date and before 1700; and between 1700 and 1720 six other plays of Corneille are versified in Dutch. Dr. Bauwens, hypnotized by the date 1700, has failed to describe the culmination of the Cornelian current in Holland, and has given no hint as to its duration and its decline.

About 1720, at a time when numerous translations and editions of Corneille were still published in Holland, his fame begins to wane. That, at least, is indicated by a document which is indicated by Picot in his *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, but of which Dr. Bauwens had made no use; in the Préface of B. Huydecoper's translation of *Œdipe*, the famous professor, P. Burman, compared this play to Voltaire's *Œdipe*, to the disadvantage of Voltaire's tragedy. This defense of Corneille did not remain without an answer and, in the month of May of that year, the *Gazette de Hollande* replied. Huydecoper then issued a pamphlet, *Corneille verdedigd* (*Corneille Defended*), which yields interesting information about Corneille's fame in the Netherlands.

Dr. Bauwens' thesis is a comparison of some early translations of Corneille with their originals, rather than a history of Corneille's influence in Holland. A more completely documented study remains desirable, since—whatever may be said about the incompatibility of the Dutch "psyche" and the

French "soul"—it was precisely in Holland that Corneille obtained his greatest European success. The editions of translations of his plays in Holland before 1810 number eighty-two as compared with: Italy, forty-seven; Germany, twenty-eight; England, twenty-one; and Spain, seven.

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The Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts. Published by the Cambridge Anglo-Norman Society. O. H. PRIOR, General Editor. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Pp. xxviii+66.

As announced in the Preface by Dr. O. H. Prior, its general editor, this new series will not be bound down to the publication of purely literary work but will include also "documents of interest from social, economic, political, and legal points of view." The present volume, which is the first of the series, contains three short poems that are at least interesting from a linguistic point of view, and, as regards Perot's *Divisiones Mundi*, from a scientific point of view also. The first, a *Poem on the Assumption*, edited by J. P. Strachey, a work of 14 laisses in octosyllabics, translated fairly closely from the Latin text (the *Visions of St. Elizabeth of Schönau*, Book II, chaps. xxxi-xxxii); second, a *Poem on the Day of Judgment*, edited by H. J. Chaytor, consisting of 138 octosyllabics, in which the description of the Day of Judgment resembles other medieval poems on the same subject; lastly, *Divisiones Mundi*, edited by O. H. Prior, a didactic poem on geography by Perot de Garbelei, of 935 six-syllable lines, or rather three-stress lines, according to the editor, based on the *De Philosophia Mundi* and *De Imagine Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis.

In the Preface to this small volume, which partly formed the subject of a recent article (*Romania*, XLIX, 161-85), Dr. Prior reasserts his views on Anglo-Norman literature and language, and the linguistic facts found in the three poems are used for the further discussion and demonstration of his claims. Relative to the effect of the Norman Conquest on English history, the new school of history holds that "the effects of the Conquest were so deep that it is, in effect, a new starting-point rather than a turning-point in English history" (Tout, *France and England in the Middle Ages*, p. 61). Apparently differing from the new school and following the footsteps of Freeman and Stubbs, Dr. Prior is inclined to minimize the influence of the Norman invasion and stresses "for all that it is worth the continuity of the Anglo-Saxon conditions"—historical, artistic, and literary—"through the Norman period." According to this view, the phonetic evolution of Anglo-Norman is similar to, if not entirely dependent on, that of Middle English dialects, and, in support of his claim, he draws parallels between Anglo-Norman and Middle English dialects. This view conflicts, however, with the results of recent studies (Tanqueray, *Evolution du verbe en anglo-français*, pp. ii and 818-57; Studer,

The Study of Anglo-Norman, pp. 9-10; H. D. Learned, "The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords," *PMLA*, XXXVII, 706-21), and the general editor freely admits the dearth of material for his subject and the want of a work in English comparable to that of Gilliéron's *Atlas linguistique* in order to attain definite conclusions in this field. Moreover, one has to beware of linguistic similarities which may be purely accidental, bearing in mind what Skeat (*Principles of English Etymology*, p. 34) remarked long ago: "The pronunciation of Anglo-Norman agrees, almost exactly, with that of the contemporary Middle English, the symbols used in both having the same value, and both being spelt phonetically." Dr. Prior contends further that, as a consequence of English influence, English rhythm was substituted for French syllabism in Anglo-Norman versification. The latter view is still a matter of discussion and is one on which eminent Anglo-Norman scholars are sharply divided (Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, pp. 79 ff.). This English rhythmic system supposedly applied to French poetry by insular poets had a decided advantage: it was extremely elastic; it might possibly explain the well-known characteristics of Anglo-Norman versification. On the other hand, the subject is a most puzzling and baffling one. Research is made painstakingly arduous by the carelessness, ignorance, and inconsistency of Anglo-Norman copyists, and the solution of this problem may still be far removed.

In the study of the language of the three poems, only a few sounds are dealt with. In fact, Dr. Prior appears to be more interested in the language of the scribes than in that of the authors proper. The morphology is given no space. This study would have gained in value if it had been somewhat more intensive. Dr. Prior realizes this shortcoming, but he "broke new ground" by discussing the results of possible dialectal influences exerted by Middle English on Anglo-Norman phonology. Such discussions are enlightening and may eventually help in localizing more approximately certain Anglo-Norman texts; conversely, they may also prove certain dialectal influences to be doubtful or without any foundation whatever. The editor remarks (p. 36) that Perot's poem, *Divisiones Mundi*, is written in an Anglo-Norman dialect which shows distinctive features of the southwest of England, and he considers (p. 7) the rhyme, *ef* (ovum): *preuf* 61, as an additional argument in favor of a Western origin. This argument must be viewed with caution, for (*e*) from Latin (*o*) occurs in Adgar, Frère Angier, Langtoft, and in the *Vie de Seint Auban* (cf. Stimming, *Der a.-n. Boeve de Haumtone*, p. 208), and Vising (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-40) infers the following localities for the above works: Adgar-London, Frère Angier-Oxford, Langtoft-Yorkshire, *Vie de Seint Auban*-Hertfordshire. Furthermore, in this poem Latin (*o*) rhymes only with itself: *fleuve:preve* 850, *iluec:ovec* 852, and nothing conclusive can be drawn from such a rhyme, at least as concerns the author's language. The editor also considers (p. 7) such a rhyme as *pus* (*plus?*): *truis* 181 (though *pus* may stand for *puis*; in such a case the rhyme would offer nothing per-

plexing) as an "important criterion for the localization of texts." This rhyme is of common occurrence not only in Anglo-Norman (Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. lvii; Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, p. 65; Vising, *op. cit.*, p. 29), but also in Benoît de Sainte-Maure (*Roman de Troie*, VI, 123) and Marie de France (Warnke, *Fabeln*, p. lxxxiii). The rhyme *desuz (desus):tuz* 73 (unless *desuz* should stand for *desous*) is interesting, since other arguments point to a south-western locality; in this respect, Perot's poem seems to share the ethnographic and linguistic features found in *Boeve de Haumtone* (Stimming, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii and lvii). On the other hand, the rhyme *o:u(y)* occurs in the *Poem on the Day of Judgment:desus:iros* 131, but no particular English locality is assigned by the editor.

The editions of the three poems are exact copies of the MSS, and corrections are offered in the notes only. In Perot's poem, *Divisiones Mundi*, Dr. Prior conveniently reprinted the Latin original side by side with its translation, otherwise French names of certain towns and countries would have been unreadable without the help of the Latin version.

A few minor corrections may be suggested in regard to the text. Page 20: *deu* 154, the rhyme calls for *dé*; *enunbré* 161 (or *anunbré*) does not necessarily mean here "innumerable," but "in number, counted, numbered"; *asmé* 160 stands for *acesmé* or *asemé*. Page 46: for *Ja quire nel quiron* 339, the note suggests wrongly to read "never will they cook it," while the vocabulary reads "they will seek to, try to"; *enclot: oet* 333, should read *enclot*, preterite; for *beu* 344, read possibly *ben*. Page 48: as regards the rhyme *bevre* (MS *beure*): *creire* 417, the editor suggests *beïre* for *bevre*; yet the same rhyme appears in the same poem: *beivre:creire* 910, and also *dire:descruire* 241 by the side of *livre:descriure* 43; moreover, similar rhymes occur in the works of careful authors: *Roman de Thèbes*, *creire:receivre* 2845; *G. de Dole*, *espoire:boivre* 3436; Denis Piramus' *Vie Seint Edmund*, *arveire:receivre* 1829, by the side of *creire:arveire* 78. Page 49: read *douche* for *touche* 466; *descriurai* for *descruerai* 470. Page 55: *estrut* 697 may stand for *estruist* from *estruire* (*Roman de Thèbes*, Vocab., has *estruil*, p.p.). Page 56: we might read *sire* instead of *empere:empire* 726. Page 59: read *siet* for *set* 838. An index of proper names and a vocabulary intentionally abridged, which reproduces words as found in the text without any attempt at emendation, ends this volume.

Upon the whole, the Cambridge Anglo-Norman Society is to be commended for undertaking the edition of the numerous manuscripts which are to be found in the Cambridge University and College libraries. Its first volume reflects creditably upon English scholarship, and it is fortunate that the study of Anglo-Norman has now become in its birthplace a subject of lasting interest.

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THE CHEVALIER DE MOUHY, AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH NOVELIST

It is customary to preface every excursion into the by-ways of literature with some sort of apology. But in the case of Charles des Fieux, chevalier de Mouhy, such a proceeding would savor of impertinence. Not that De Mouhy's novels interest the reading public of today: he shares, on the contrary, the melancholy fate of lions like Marivaux and Prévost. But contemporary indifference to the novels of an eighteenth-century writer proves nothing except perhaps that the novel is an ephemeral *genre*. Still, so increasingly narrow is the boundary between literary criticism and literary resurrectionism that one is constrained to point out that a proper comprehension of De Mouhy's work is quite essential to a study of the evolution of the French novel.

If it has nothing else, De Mouhy's literary baggage has a relative importance. Even if we look upon it as so much flotsam in the slow-moving current of literary history it does at least show which way the current is moving. For De Mouhy, like most writers who live by their pen, was quick to gauge the rapidly changing taste of his public, and his work presents a variety which we look for in vain in other novelists of much greater repute. In so far as such a thing was possible in an aristocratic period like the eighteenth century, he was a popular novelist.

Of the man himself little is known. Born at Metz in 1701, he died in Paris in 1784. Voltaire's correspondence sheds a little light

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on his activities and indicates that from 1736 until 1739 De Mouhy was employed by Arouet as a sort of literary correspondent. The great man himself does not seem to have had any direct liaison with the chevalier whom he quite simply exploited. De Mouhy was the straw man in the production of the *Préservatif* and was intrusted with the direction of Voltaire's attacks on Desfontaines. But by 1739 it becomes clear that De Mouhy realized he was being used as a catspaw, and Voltaire's letters to the Abbé de Moussinet, who acted as intermediary, reveal a certain apprehension on the part of Voltaire that he may have caught a Tartar. Acting, of course, on Voltaire's instructions, De Mouhy had prepared a *mémoire* against Desfontaines, which he duly published. Apparently Voltaire felt that the publication was premature, and through De Moussinet he asked De Mouhy to return all documents in his possession bearing the signature of Voltaire and also to print a denial that the latter had anything to do with the *Préservatif*. For some reason, toward the end of 1739, Voltaire wanted to get back his *désaveu*, and through the agency of Madame du Châtelet approached D'Argental, begging him to use his influence with De Mouhy. Madame de Châtelet in her letter refers to De Mouhy in the following terms: "*Ce de Mouhy est un bon garçon, trop zélé et qu'il faut ménager.*" The whole affair looks like a case of thieves falling out, and we may infer that the chevalier, realizing that he was being exploited, brought some pressure to bear, because he suddenly clapped a higher price on his services. Voltaire, however, refused to pay. In 1740 De Moussinet was commissioned to give the chevalier two louis although, writes Voltaire: "*Il mande de bien fausses nouvelles, entre autres, que je suis brouillé avec Madame du Châtelet.*"¹ We lose sight of De Mouhy until 1750 when Voltaire mentions that he has been attacked by him in a paper called *La Bigarrure*. It is known also that De Mouhy directed the *Gazette de France* for a time.²

It is indeed unfortunate for De Mouhy's reputation that writers of biographical notes have been content to accept at face value the ill-natured observations of Palissot de Monténay.³ Palissot, who had most probably never read De Mouhy's works calls him

un des plus riches modèles qui existe du style plat et du genre niais. Depuis la Paysanne parvenue jusqu'à son dernier ouvrage intitulé les Dangers des

¹ Voltaire's correspondence. ² See article on De Mouhy in the *Grande Encyclopédie*.

³ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de notre littérature de François Ier jusqu'à nos jours.*

spectacles, il a donné au public qui ne s'en doute pas, environ 84 volumes de romans où la langue n'est pas mieux traitée que le sens commun.

Before proceeding to discuss these terribly maligned novels, it is only fair to record what Quérard¹ says of Palissot and his book. He calls it un ouvrage superficiel et qui semble n'avoir été écrit que pour déposer toute l'âcreté et toute la haine de l'auteur et sa basse envie contre les auteurs français contemporains. Critique sans pudeur et sans conscience, Palissot a inséré dans les diverses éditions de ce livre, tantôt des éloges tantôt des injures sur les mêmes écrivains suivant qu'il avait à se louer ou à se plaindre d'eux.

After all, De Mouhy was a member of the Académie de Dijon,² which indicates that he was not without some sort of literary reputation.

Monselet,³ the only modern critic who mentions De Mouhy, remarks that morally he offers certain traits of resemblance with his friend La Morlière. If the remark refers to De Mouhy's private character it is possibly true, though Monselet brings no evidence to support his statement. It seems, however, to refer to his works, because Monselet goes on to say that, with La Morlière, De Mouhy "*ouvre la série des romanciers bourbeux du siècle*." Here it is time to protest. De Mouhy is frequently tiresome. He is as often extravagant and improbable, but *bourbeux* he emphatically is not. A contemporary critic,⁴ habitually merciless on the chapter of immorality, writes thus of De Mouhy in 1743:

Que vous dirai-je, Madame, de M. le chevalier de Mouhy, qui s'est fait connaître par une multitude de romans? Nulle plume plus féconde que la sienne: point d'imagination plus forte. *La Paysanne parvenue* est un de ses ouvrages les mieux travaillés. Suivant l'avis que donne Martial, mais dans un autre sens, de ne pas trop affecter de plaire, il se pique de négligence et sa vivacité ne lui permet pas de retoucher ce que son esprit enfante avec une facilité peu commune.

De Mouhy was in effect amazingly prolific. A critic in the *Bibliothèque Française*⁵ for 1736 remarks that he has just begun

quatre autres ouvrages qu'il finira à son loisir, *La paysanne parvenue*,⁶ *Les mémoires du marquis de Fieux*,⁷ *Le mentor à la mode*⁸ and *La mouche ou les*

¹ *La France littéraire*.

² According to the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Dijon* first printed in 1769, Monsieur le chevalier de Mouhy was admitted on July 20, 1753. He is recorded as a non-resident member with the address Paris.

³ *Les Oubliés et les Dédaignés*, 1857.

⁴ F. A. Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois, in his *Lettres critiques, etc., sur les romans*, Paris, 1743.

⁵ Vol. XXII.

⁶ All dated Paris, 1735.

aventures etc. de Bigand. Il en prépare encore un cinquième dans le même goût.

This unknown critic adds that De Mouhy is here following the example of Marivaux by publishing his works in instalments. At least, however, the chevalier completed his novels.

De Mouhy has been accused of lack of originality, an impeachment for which he has himself to blame. It was natural that an author who gives to his works such titles as *La paysanne parvenue* and *Les mémoires d'une jeune fille qui ne s'est pas retirée du monde* should lay himself open to ill-informed and superficial criticism. For, titles apart, there is no resemblance between the above-mentioned works and the well-known novels of Marivaux and Prévost. Of course, De Mouhy owed something to his famous contemporaries, and acknowledges his debt in the *Paysanne parvenue*.¹

He shares Prévost's predilection for episodes of a sensational order but, save where he deliberately enters the domain of the *merveilleux*, usually respects *vraisemblance*. In the fairy-tale and in the oriental and exotic novel De Mouhy is conspicuously unsuccessful. *Les délices du sentiment*,² *Les mémoires du marquis de Benavides*,² *L'amante anonyme*,² were apparently written in deference to a recrudescence of popular taste for this sort of novel which seems to have come to vogue again about 1751.³ De Mouhy is not happy here. All the faults of the seventeenth-century romances reappear: the faded and absurdly chivalrous and stereotyped love-making, the impossibly despotic tyrants, and the familiar magician's paraphernalia. The style, reflecting a disordered imagery, is stilted and turgid, descending at times to such precious bathos as:

J'en étais à cet endroit de l'histoire ... lorsque Zélenie m'interrompit pour me faire remarquer que l'aurore qui commençait à briller sur l'horizon, nous annonçait dans peu le lever du soleil. Je lui sus gré de la remarque.

¹ I have fully discussed this, the best of De Mouhy's novels, in an article in the *Modern Language Review*, July, 1923.

² In order of appearance, 1753, 1754, 1756.

³ In this connection the following quotation from the *Observations sur la littérature moderne* (l'Abbé de la Porte), Vol. VIII, 1752, is of interest. Speaking of a novel called *Mourat et Turquia*, he says: "On sera peut-être étonné, de retrouver ici des aventures de sérail qui, depuis quelques années, étaient prosrites de nos Romans. Cela vaut bien je crois des *Enfants Trouvés*."

However, doubtless under the influence of Montesquieu and of Mme de Graigny, De Mouhy does attempt to give a veneer of probability to the *Délices du sentiment* by the introduction of pseudo-Tartar names for the more common objects in the entourage of the monarch Chingu. *Lamekis*, written in 1735, is another and more laudable effort in the field of pure imagination. The opening chapters of this pretended Egyptian historical novel reveal distinct efforts at local color but the ending is a perfect phantasmagoria introducing the inevitable island inhabited by people colored blue and pink and such monsters as barn-yard fowls with cats' heads!

De Mouhy, like Lesage and so many others, wrote primarily to earn his livelihood, a fact which explains much that is worthless in his novels. He is, even before Prévost, the most prolific novelist of the eighteenth century. Until we arrive at 1761, the date of the appearance of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, there is no particular species of the novel which can be said to predominate in France. De Mouhy always wrote with one eye cocked on the public which fed him, and his public is a wider one than that of Marivaux, Prévost, or Crébillon *fils* . Of these, and in general range of subject-matter he most approaches Prévost, though De Mouhy had little relish for the works of the gloomy *abbé*, much as he esteemed him. He speaks of *Cleveland*, for instance, as an "*histoire remplie de traits funestes qui ne devrait jamais être lue que lorsqu'on est né mélancholique ou que l'on a du chagrin.*"¹ He had, however, much of Prévost's fertile invention and occasionally a little of the latter's love for the *macabre*.

De Mouhy's mind was singularly receptive of impressions projected by the incidents of everyday life. At heart he was a journalist in his love of *actualité* and his flair for what interests the public. His *Mémoires de la comtesse de Courbon*² is a case in point. Barbier relates in his *Journal* that a young heiress of the bourgeoisie named Moras was actually abducted from the convent of N-D. de la Consolation in the rue du Cherche-Midi by a nobleman, the Count of la Roche-Courbon. The true sequel unfortunately does not tally with De Mouhy's happy union of the lovers. La Roche-Courbon was con-

¹ *Le Financier*, Paris, 1755.

² *Mémoires d'Anne-Marie de Moras, comtesse de Courbon écrits par elle-même et adressés à Mlle de ... , pensionnaire au couvent du Cherche-Midi*, La Haye, 1740.

demned to death by an unromantic tribunal. Our author weaves round the episode a most interesting network of love adventure and description of convent life, with excursions into a domain hitherto scarcely touched by the French novelist, the milieu surrounding the *petite bourgeoisie*. Anne's grandfather, M. de Farges, is a cleverly drawn portrait of the bourgeois with social aspirations for his daughter. "*D'où vient ce goût pour la condition ?*" protests the lady. "*D'où vient ! D'où vient !*" interrupts the irascible old gentleman, "*Parce qu'une femme sans qualité avec tous les biens du monde est toujours l'égal de la bourgeoisie et que sans cette qualité et un nom qui fasse respecter, on essuie à tous moments les plus tristes désagréments.*"

In this novel, as in others, De Mouhy inveighs against a much-attacked institution of the eighteenth century, the custom prevalent in several families of forcing young girls to take the veil for financial reasons connected with the law of inheritance. De Mouhy usually writes with some animus against the Church, and unreservedly condemns the conventual system on moral grounds. His description of the education of Anne and her friend Julie in this novel is handled with an attention to psychological analysis and with a realism which leaves little to the imagination. *Pensionnaires*, according to him, are left too much to themselves and devour in secret the most pernicious of contemporary novels. Access to the convent is too easily granted. As a result, young girls like his heroine who are naturally precocious have their minds turned early to thoughts of love.

De Mouhy's treatment of the love interest is well illustrated in *Les Mémoires d'une fille de qualité*¹ where we find him in his most happy vein. In this description of life in the *grand monde* the chevalier is in his element. The story centers round Agnès, the supposed daughter of a M. Saint-Preuil but really the illegitimate daughter of a M. de Bréville. At the time when De Mouhy wrote this novel, foundlings and suppositions were all the rage and *Tom Jones* was being eagerly read in translation. Through the mediation of a priest who does not scruple to make use of information acquired in the confessional, Agnès' true status is discovered. She runs off from home to avoid the unwelcome attentions of Saint-Preuil and falls into the clutches of the wicked priest

¹ Amsterdam, 1747. Dedicated to the "Reine Mère."

and his slimy, Jewkeslike creature, la Sœur du Calvaire. The latter is a finely drawn study of a sort of feminine Tartuffe ready always with her unctuous *ainsi soit-il!* to cap the *abbé's* sanctimonious effusions. Only the sight of money is capable of bringing a smile to that devout visage. The dual between the two women is well described. The harpy tries high-handed methods which Agnès parries by adopting the demeanor of mistress toward servant. The *sœur* pretends to acquiesce but bides her time. An infatuated marquis offers Agnès his help, threatening magnificently to kill himself if his love is not returned. Terrified, Agnès runs to her Sœur du Calvaire, who hypocritically washes her hands of the whole affair.

Vous l'avez laissé entrer. Ce n'est pas moi qui l'ai introduit ici; c'est à vous à faire surtout cela que vous jugerez à propos: vous savez que nous nous sommes convenus que je ne me mêlerai en rien de vos affaires.

The old hag, though handicapped by Agnès' dominion over the *abbé*, yet contrives to annoy her in the hundred petty ways peculiar to her class. For example, ordered to buy linen for her charge, she purchases the coarsest and commonest sort as worn by women of the people, accepting her scolding with a perfidious air of innocent surprise.

The death of Saint-Preuil enables Agnès to return to her mother. One day a stranger calls.

Le jour commençait à tomber et comme nous étions dans le salon de plein pied au jardin on pouvait à peine entrevoir dans le fond de la chambre. Ma mère qui commençait à se troubler me donna un coup d'œil que je compris, en m'ordonnant de faire apporter des bougies pour aller dans l'antichambre voisine où étaient nos gens.

The stranger turns out to be Agnès' father back from Pondicherry, where he has amassed a fortune as governor.

The death of her father shortly afterward leaves Agnès an heiress besieged by suitors and much run after by adventuresses eager to initiate her into the smart set, for a consideration. De Mouhy describes at length the various *affaires*, and concludes his novel in a new and interesting fashion. The heroine does not marry. Her experiences lead her to the following point of view:

Est-il un état plus heureux que celui d'une fille qui a du bien, assez de jugement pour en faire usage et qui fait jouir habilement de ses droits. Cela

ne l'emporte-t-il pas sur l'honneur d'être femme mariée, dépendante souvent des caprices d'un époux léger qui la sacrifie tous les jours à des maîtresses moins aimables qu'elle ou qui mange son bien en la faisant enrager? Je pense qu'il n'y a pas de comparaison à faire.

In truth, few of De Mouhy's women are capable of a *grande passion*. His lovers, too, are usually unconvincing—a defect which it would be fairer to attribute to the age than to the author. However, we must except from this generalization the heroine of the *Mémoires de la marquise de Villenamours*,¹ a certain Mlle de C. This lady, despite parental opposition, rejects a duke and a *président* to marry the man she loves, a situation which was not then so probable or so banal as today. The hero, Firminville, is long supposed to be Mlle de C.'s brother but is discovered to be a penniless foundling, another case of supposition. In this connection it is a striking fact that De Mouhy in many of his novels displays an extraordinary predilection for situations *à la René*. The unnatural liaison is however usually based on a misunderstanding. In the *Mémoires du comte de D.B.*² he treats this theme at length and in a very realistic way. Young D.B. is, for 1735, a distinctly precocious and romantic young man whose passionate outbursts already announce the introspective hero of the Adolphe school. "*Il y a peu d'hommes qui se soient plus examinés que moi*," says he, with perfect truth. D.B. pours out his story of his life beginning at childhood and recounting his early upbringing under a licentious tutor, his infatuation at the age of twelve with Céline (the subject of many a mournful soliloquy), his father's recriminations, his despair and his romantic illness. His long-suffering parent tries to cure him by kindness and failing in this resorts to an old-fashioned hiding, whereupon D.B. tries to commit suicide. Finally yielding to his wife's pleading, the elder D.B. recalls Céline. However, the young hero, mistaking his own father for a rival, stabs him; then, overcome with remorse, again attempts to kill himself. Henceforward De Mouhy

¹ *Les mémoires de la marquise de Villenamours écrites par elle et rédigées par Madame de Mouhy* (!), La Haye, 1747. The Preface and dedication (the latter to the Princess of Orange) are signed by De Mouhy's wife, who claims to have collaborated with him in this novel. I think that the supposed collaboration is a pretty artifice to excite public interest. De Mouhy's prefaces are always novel.

² *Mémoires posthumes du comte de D.B. avant son retour à Dieu, fondés sur l'expérience des vanités humaines*, Paris, 1735.

gives free reign to his imagination. D.B. is plunged into a series of the most sensational adventures in which the central figure is a sort of eighteenth-century Bluebeard who has designs on Méliane, the wife of D.B. Drugged and carried underground, our hero encounters many thrilling episodes which recall strongly the melodrama of our modern cinematograph. There is no suspension of the interest until the final pages when D.B. triumphantly plunges his sword into the black heart of the unrepentant villain.

As one can gather, De Mouhy has no particular manner of writing. He collects his material where he can and passes it through the crucible of his wonderful imagination. Though frequently improbable, his tales are rarely wearisome. We must, of course, except his sentimental oriental stories. He has the gift of spinning a yarn and the knack of unflagging action. De Mouhy is indeed one of the pioneers of the *roman-feuilleton*, the most striking specimen of which is his *Bigand la Mouche*, first produced in 1736¹ but frequently reprinted until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It would be easy to trace a superficial resemblance between Bigand and Gil Blas, and one would be quite wrong. Fundamentally, the characters are unlike. Bigand, the generous quixotic son of a schoolmaster, always the dupe yet always forgiving, the incarnation of curiosity, is much more human and infinitely more sympathetic than Gil Blas. While De Mouhy falls far below Lesage in point of style, and though he has none of the latter's satiric genius, nevertheless he has his happy moments. Both authors are realists in a different sense. Lesage envisaged the whole of human vice and frailty, extracting only what is true irrespective of such limitations as time and milieu. His is realism of a universal sort, and whatever our personal prejudices, our critical judgment must recognize in him a master of his craft. De Mouhy is a picturesque realist, and the most trifling episode acquires an engrossing interest under his pen. Bigand at the jeweler's shop is chaffering for a pair of diamond ear-rings. He puts his hand in his pocket to pay. Horrors! His roll of louis is not there. Consternation of the lady who was to get the ear-rings; suspicious glances from the jeweler to his wife. Bigand rushes home.

¹ *La Mouche ou les aventures et espègleries facétieuses de Bigand*, Paris, 1736.

Je volai à ma chambre. O disgrâce du sort, ô douleur sans pareille, je ne trouve point mes louis. Pas une poche n'est oubliée et jusqu'au plus petit coin est visité. Je devins froid comme marbre, je pensai tomber sans connaissance. Eh! bon Dieu, m'écriai-je avec une espèce de fureur, qui est donc entré dans ma chambre? J'avais la clef dans ma poche. Je cours à la porte, j'examine la serrure, nul indice ne paraît qu'elle ait été crochétée. Je reviens encore à mon habit, je tâche de me persuader que je l'ai fouillé trop précipitamment; j'examine les poches, elles peuvent être trouées; je les retourne encore, cent louis sont pesants et peuvent être coulés dans la doublure; chimère! Ils n'y sont plus. Au désespoir de cette fatale connaissance, je me jette avec fureur sur mon lit; mais, ayant senti quelque chose de dur qui me blessait la tête, j'y portai la main. Doux embarras! ô joie inexprimable! C'est le rouleau de louis. Je le prends; je le baise: je lui ris: je lui parle: je saute, je chante, je danse.

De Mouhy is really the first French novelist to understand the mind of the bourgeois, not even excepting Marivaux and his famous Dutour. In the shop scene mentioned above he interprets wonderfully well the unspoken thoughts of the jeweler and his wife when they sight in Bigand a possible client. How true today that picture of the canny shopkeeper, the advance and retreat of buyer and seller as they feel the terrain, and then the deciding word spoken as usual by the woman. As De Mouhy remarks: "*Il faut remarquer que dans le commerce comme dans le monde, ce sont les femmes qui décident de tout.*" The bargain is finally struck but not without the inevitable preliminary speech from the jeweler's wife:

Que si elle me laissait les boucles au prix que j'avais offert, ce n'était qu'en faveur de ma grandeur d'âme ... jurant sur sa conscience équivoque qu'ils perdaient trente pistoles au marché.

No one before De Mouhy ever presented to the public the picture of the squalor and misery of a debtor's prison. Bigand, on returning to his native home, finds that his father has been arrested and thrown in jail for debt. When he enters that gloomy, noisome place in search of his father, the prisoners raise a pitiful cry which goes to Bigand's soul. He finds his father so ill that he does not recognize his son. The latter, trembling with pity, listens to a heart-breaking story of a hopeless struggle against misfortune. As Bigand goes out the debtors crowd round him begging for money to buy drink, as is their custom. He says:

Je repassai chez le geôlier, où je ne fus pas plutôt, que je me trouvai mal.— Je vous l'avais bien dit—s'écria cet homme,—les gens du monde ne sont pas faits pour voir de tels spectacles, ils répugnent trop à leurs usages.

He arranges with the turnkey about his father's debts, and gives the former money for himself and for the prisoners. The jailer, astonished at such generosity, becomes almost human and advises him to put off his father's release until the following day lest the sudden access of joy should kill him, adding: "*qu'il était nécessaire de le préparer à sa liberté et de lui donner peu à peu à manger, afin que, libre de le faire à son appétit, il ne s'étouffât pas.*"

The characteristic which ranks De Mouhy among the first of the French popular novelists is his extraordinary power of invention. Plots simply bubble up in that fertile mind, and if we allow something for the trend of contemporary taste, his plots are remarkably probable. In the book called *Les Dangers des Spectacles*¹ we have a series of *romans à tiroir*. De Mouhy, like the authors of *romans-feuilleton*, delights in surrounding his chief characters with mystery, but thanks are due to him for eschewing the hackneyed *reconnaisances* so dear to the century. To take one example, he tells of the infatuation of an English nobleman for a young lady who finally consents to marriage but only on condition that conjugal relations shall be purely platonic. One can imagine the tissue of adventures and misunderstandings which De Mouhy weaves round this hypothesis. The key to the mystery is very simple. It appears that the heroine, as a girl, had been left almost entirely to the care of a well-meaning but ignorant nurse who depicted the physical aspect of marriage in such terrifying terms that the girl, though deeply in love, resorted to the stupid stipulation mentioned above. In another of these tales, the chevalier writes in a most interesting way about the infatuation of a duchess for an actor. She is in love with the histrion but not with the man—a nice distinction which causes her real lover much heartache. The *Histoire de Sara* relates the adventures of a Jewish girl who wants to abjure her religion and to become a Catholic. She and a friend fall into the clutches of an adventurer, a sort of *abbé* who makes a profession of converting Jews. For

¹ Ou les mémoires de M. le duc de Champigny, par M. le chevalier de Mouhy, ancien officier de cavalerie, pensionnaire du roi, de l'Académie des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Dijon, Paris, 1780.

each convert he receives a sum from a zealous cardinal. His *modus operandi* is beautifully simple—his conversions are bogus ones and by mutual arrangement Jew and *abbé* each collect one-half of the premium.

The growing craze for sentimentalism which was to deluge the French novel from the sixties onward finds a ready response in De Mouhy, who produced in 1755 his *Financier*. His hero, D'Argicourt, is a new type, the financier-philosopher who devotes his whole time and fortune to philanthropy. D'Argicourt, like Grandisson, is a throw-back to the ideal chivalrous hero of medieval romance, though De Mouhy makes his setting as up to date as possible. Indeed, it is the picture of manners which redeems the novel.¹ As it is, the reader will find it hard to appreciate the virtues of this incredibly altruistic hero, who with all his charity is a confounded prig. In this tale of young girls rescued from the clutches of wicked harridans, and of dear old retired generals ejected by ruthless landlords with designs upon their daughters, we have further evidence of De Mouhy's attainments as a writer of popular fiction. Like Richardson, he is the pioneer of the sort of novel which constitutes the servant-girl's delight. D'Argicourt is the typical *héros de roman*:

Sighing like Furnace, with a wofull ballad
Made to his Mistressse eyebrow.

When his lady leaves a certain inn he feigns an indisposition and remains to sit and dream in the room where *she* has rested. This is how he apostrophizes her mirror: "*Ah, miroir fortuné, que j'envie ton bonheur. Comment as-tu pu recevoir des images étrangères après celle de la belle Adelaïde ?*" He has a romantic fondness for scratching bad verses on windows:

Pour être heureux il faut être sensible
On ne peut l'être avec un cœur paisible

—and he doesn't sleep a wink the whole night!

One of De Mouhy's novels, *Le masque de fer*,² woven round the theme which Dumas treated in his well-known novel, enjoyed great

¹ For a full discussion of this aspect the reader is referred to my *La peinture des mœurs de la société polie dans le roman français de 1715 à 1769*, recently published by the Presses Universitaires, Paris.

² La Haye, 1750.

popularity until 1840 and ran through four editions. The pseudo-historical novel reached the climax of its popularity in the works of Mme d'Aulnoy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. De Mouhy's *Masque de fer*, the anonymous *Aventures du baron de Puineuf* (1737), De Grandpré's *Aimable petit maître* (1750), Mauvillon's *Soldat parvenu* (1753), and the anonymous *Ascanius ou le jeune aventurier* (1759) indicate a fairly constant demand for this type of novel throughout the century, and furnish one explanation for the reception given to Scott at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Such is the brief outline of De Mouhy's services to the French novel of the eighteenth century. He was popular in his day, more so than worthier craftsmen like Marivaux who wrote for a more select and aristocratic public. There are many such "lesser" novelists in this age whose works reflect faithfully the vagaries of taste and the manners of their day and for that reason hold no appeal for the modern reader. Yet from the point of view of literary history and for a comprehension of the evolution of the French novel, such "lesser" men are very important. Our present knowledge of the influences surrounding the growth of the French novel is at present most incomplete, chiefly because of our neglect of men like De Mouhy whose works provide an explanation for what must otherwise seem inexplicable and eccentric apparitions in the novel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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A NEW APPROACH TO MEDIEVAL LATIN DRAMA

PROLEGOMENA

The period of medieval Latin drama is from about the middle of the tenth to about the middle of the twelfth century. For a hundred years before this time there exists dramatic material which undoubtedly helped to suggest the earliest actual drama. And after this time the prevailing medium of expression for this "crowd" art is the vernacular of the various countries.

We record its beginnings in a little Easter Resurrection play of four sentences; and though Latin drama persisted for many hundreds of years after this, the Anglo-Norman *Mystère d'Adam* (ca. 1170) marks the triumph of the new medium. In content, this Latin drama is religious, varying from the closest possible connection with the liturgy, in the play of the three Maries, to the thinly veiled political *Tendenzschrift* in the Tegernsee *Antichrist*. It includes within its scope almost exclusively plays that group themselves about the ecclesiastical seasons of Easter and Christmas and certain saints' days. Its subject-matter is, with notable exceptions, from the Old and the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and saints' legends. The plays centering around the Easter season furnish the largest body of texts, of which about three hundred are now known. The richest group in the variety of subject-matter concerns the octave of Christmas. And the most interesting from a cultural point of view are those having to do with saints. Generally speaking, these plays flourished all over Europe, though most of the texts have been preserved in Germany or in France.

It is an international drama. To the writer of literary history, to the student of drama, and to all interested in the continuity of culture, the medieval Latin drama bulks in significance far out of proportion to the number and the volume of the texts preserved; for it is the only distinctly international drama in the history of Western civilization. And it is in this drama that we find the

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first links in the broken chain which makes for historical continuity from the time of the Greeks to the present in this form of literary art.

Only two, or possibly three, writers have presented anything approaching even a brief comprehensive survey of this drama. Wilhelm Creizenach devotes fifty-six pages of Volume I of *Geschichte des neuern Dramas* to it; E. K. Chambers sixty-seven pages of Volume II of *The Mediaeval Stage*; and Wilhelm Meyer about twice as much space in *Fragmenta Burana*. In the orderly arrangement of material, in the solidity of content, and in the analysis of plays, Creizenach is the most satisfying, though Chambers is more adequate in discussing the relations of the early drama to the liturgy. Meyer relates the plays more closely to the life of the times; but he is, unfortunately, confused or inconclusive in some of the fundamental theories as to origins; and he does not consider the saints' plays at all. Professor Manly is the inspiration for practically all the work on medieval Latin drama that has been done in this country. A brief article by him in an early number of *Modern Philology* comes more nearly being a constructive and synthetic approach to this body of literature than any other that I know about.¹

Other scholars have studied special aspects of the Latin drama, notably G. Milchsack, Carl Lange, Karl Young, E. K. Bonnell, and Neil C. Brooks for the Easter group; and M. Sepet, Heinrich Anz, and Karl Young for the Christmas series. In the case of both groups their definite origin in relation to the liturgy is pretty clearly and definitely established. In the case of the saints' plays, my monograph of some years ago has merely prepared the way for such a comparative study of the St. Nicholas texts, with the content of the services of that saint's day as has been made for the Christmas and Easter plays in relation to the liturgy. And one should certainly mention the work of Professor La Piana, who calls attention to the importance of the study of Byzantine relations for medieval Latin drama. Though the published studies of Hardin Craig treat mostly of the vernacu-

¹ See for references above: Wilh. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neuern Dramas*, I, 43-99 (Halle, 1911); E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 1-67 (Oxford, 1903); Wilh. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, pp. 31-144 (Berlin, 1901); J. M. Manly, "Literary Forms and a New Theory of the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, IV (1906-7), 483-97.

lar drama, he is very important as a teacher and a scholar in this field.¹

The scholars who have made special studies of the Easter and the Christmas plays have centered their attention almost entirely on editing or establishing basic texts and on their relation to one another and to the liturgy. Creizenach and Chambers organize most of their material under the two headings just mentioned and consider it from practically the same point of view as do the writers of the special studies, though Chambers includes such brief discussions as the possible relation between certain folk or semifolk festivities and the Christmas plays; and Creizenach considers briefly the literary value of the early drama. Both crowd into a small space their discussion of the saints' plays and consider variously the others which do not fall into the Easter or Christmas series.

The volume of liturgical plays which Professor Young plans to publish at some future date will go far toward making accessible a modern edition of the indispensable texts; but very much still remains to be done in this field. And more comprehensive studies of the relations between this early drama and the liturgy should be made.

Granting that in the preceding summary I have omitted many important and informative details, I hope that I have made clear what the phrase medieval Latin drama includes and that I have suggested the main outlines of the work done and the methods employed by modern scholars in this field of study.

¹ I list only the more important of Karl Young's studies: "On the Origin of the Easter Play," *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 1-58; "The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* (Madison, 1921); "On the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play," *PMLA*, XXV (1910), 309-54; "The Harrowing of Hell," *Trans. of Wis. Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (1909), pp. 889-947; "Officium Pastorum, a Study of the Dramatic Developments within the Liturgy of Christmas," *ibid.* (1917), pp. 299-393; "Ordo Prophetarum," *ibid.* (1922), pp. 1-82; "Ordo Rachelis," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature* (1919). The following are distinctive studies by their respective authors: G. Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionspiele* (Wolfenbüttel, 1880); Carl Lange, *Die Lateinischen Osterfeiern* (München, 1887); E. K. Bonnell, "The Easter Sepulchrum in Its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar," *PMLA*, XXXI (1916), 664-712; Neil C. Brooks, "The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to Liturgic Drama," *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* (Urbana, 1921); M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ* (Paris, 1878); H. Anz, *Die Lateinischen Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905); Giorgio La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al sec. IX* (Grottaferrata, 1912); Hardin Craig, "On the Origin of the Old Testament Plays," *Modern Philology*, X (1913), 473-87; George R. Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Menasha, Wis., 1914).

The purpose of this brief review is to emphasize the need of a new and synthetic approach to this body of medieval Latin literature, an approach which is intended not to supplant but to supplement the work already done; at times to give a correct perspective, and always to vivify the literary product. This approach I should define in part as follows:

1. The individual plays should be considered more distinctly in connection with their period and with their immediate cultural background.

2. The whole product of the period in drama should be considered from the point of view of its spirit rather than merely from that of its content and form, which is almost altogether the present procedure.

3. Certain dramatic productions, because of their importance in the continuity of this literary type, should receive more attention than they now do in histories of medieval drama.

For the suggestions under 1, above, I am indebted in part at least to Professor Joseph Bédier, whose studies on the origin of the *Chanson de Geste* (e.g., *Les Légendes Épiques*) influenced greatly my method some years ago when I was working on the origin of the miracle play and whose thesis I paraphrased to fit my particular problem. To suggest a few of the many needed investigations: for the Easter play there are the relations of Fleury, Winchester, and Dublin to be more carefully studied; for the Christmas plays, the relations of Limoges, Fleury, Freising, and other centers; for the school plays, the *Daniel of Beauvais* in relation to its environment; and for the St. Nicholas plays, the relation of certain monastic and cathedral centers to one another in Saxon Germany and their relations to Fleury.¹ Creizenach suggests the possible value of such investigation. As he passes from a consideration of the Latin drama and comes to the section on the vernacular, he prefaces the latter with the following summary and significant comment:

In the treatment of Latin drama we had to do almost altogether with a transmission which on the one hand was too meagre and on the other too

¹ The work of Chambers (*op. cit.*) and Young (*op. cit.*) is of special value for relations to the liturgy; of P. Weber (*Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst* [1894]), Bonnell (*op. cit.*), and Brooks (*op. cit.*), to art; of G. Cohen (*Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du Moyen âge* [1906]), to staging and other details of presentation; and of Anz (*op. cit.*) and Meyer (*op. cit.*), to the period as a whole.

confused to permit us to know the origin of the single survivals. It would not be inconceivable that here many results might yet be achieved if one were to search more carefully for the literary relations between the cloisters and monasteries from which the texts have come.¹

If I am not greatly indebted to Professor Allen for suggesting to me the possibility of a new and logical classification for medieval Latin drama, I at least find support in him for my point of view. This is in his Preface to *The Mediaeval Latin Lyric*, one of the most brilliant and stimulating studies on medieval Latin literature that has appeared in America. "A fundamental principle which underlies my treatment of mediaeval Latin poetry," he writes, "is that the material should be divided and classified according to the spirit of its content and not according to the manner of its external form" (*Mod. Phil.*, VI, 55). The fact that Creizenach, Chambers, and others have concerned themselves almost altogether with the *obviously* logical classification of Christmas and Easter plays in the liturgical group has kept us from considering what is often a more important and comprehensive classification of the related drama of a period from the point of view of its spirit. With this principle in mind, however, it immediately becomes just as obvious that certain features of the Hildesheim St. Nicholas plays, the Benedictbeuern Christmas and Easter plays of the wandering scholars of *Carmina Burana*, and the Tegernsee *Antichrist* are sufficiently analogous in spirit to justify the proposed classification. And, I may add, the localities in which we find these plays are closely connected with a common center—Tegernsee.

Again, the force which carried the drama down into the great vernacular cycles and miracles which afforded the most popular entertainment to the people of the later Middle Ages were not primarily didactic or religious.² For this reason we should shift emphasis somewhat to secure a just proportion. In a word, we should con-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 101: "Bei Behandlung der lateinischen Dramen hatten wir es fast immer mit einer Überlieferung zu tun, die einerseits zu spärlich, andererseits zu verworren war, um den Ursprung der einzelnen hier noch manche Ergebnisse zu gewinnen wären, wenn man die literarischen Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Klöstern und Stiftern, aus denen die Texte stammen, genauer untersuchen wollte."

² And here I am conscious of the different and avowed purpose of the early religious dramatic offices. The author of the *Regularis Concordia*, which contains the little Easter play, emphasized as the purpose of the dramatic exercises in connection with Good Friday "confirming the faith of the ignorant vulgar and of neophytes."

sider more adequately and more as an entity—because such in spirit and practically contemporary—the Daniel of Beauvais, the plays of Hilarius, certain aspects of those from Fleury, the saints' plays, and the Benediktbeuern group. All of these must be studied in relation to the life of the times in so far as we can re-create it from original sources—in history, literature, and art—and in relation to universal and perennial values which make for enduring and popular interest in drama. In this last connection, it is important to remember, as a starting-point, that the medieval Latin dramatist was only incidentally concerned with realism, photographic or otherwise. He wished to create an acceptable illusion for the presentation of a series of marvelous, strange, miraculous, or even bizarre events, and for superhuman protagonists. He represents, often unconsciously no doubt, an escape from the commonplace and the monotonous of everyday life. His concern is for romance. Essentially medieval Latin drama is romantic.

THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF HILDESHEIM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SF. NICHOLAS PLAYS

The following pages are intended to illustrate a very limited aspect of the new approach I have just outlined. I am able to present at this time only the initial stages of the work on even this special topic.

It is not my purpose here to attempt to analyze the process of the creation of the Miracle Play. It is rather to show (1) that if Saxon Germany *was* its place of origin, the cultural activities of the tenth and eleventh centuries in that country make it logical for us to expect to find there this new type of drama; (2) that even if it was a French creation, it early came into an environment most congenial for its popular reception; (3) that whether or not the dialogues of the Saxon poet Hrotswitha had any influence on the St. Nicholas plays in their origin, they are at least a product of the same literary fashion and the same cultural environment.

Since the Hildesheim St. Nicholas plays are the immediate incentive for this investigation, I shall speak of them briefly first. They constitute a part of what is now Additional MS 22414 in the British Museum. I have not had the opportunity to examine it. According to the printed statement of the cataloguer of the Museum it contains

four items: two of them medical prescriptions, some notes on the abacus, and the two St. Nicholas plays. They are a dramatization of two popular legends from the life of St. Nicholas. One is the story of how the saint saved a father from want and his three daughters from lives of shame by throwing through the window at successive times three bags of gold for dowries. The other, probably the most popular of all his miracles, relates how he restores to life three young students—medieval “wandering scholars”—who had been murdered by an innkeeper with whom they were lodging over night. As a heading to the entire manuscript there is the superscription *Lib sci* (or *epi*) *Godehardi in hild-Will*. The cataloguer classifies the text of the manuscript as of the eleventh century. Professor Beeson, who examined it for me last spring when he was in London, confirms this date. The superscription or heading, however, he places in the twelfth century. Concerning the heading I shall have more to say later in connection with Bishop Godehard of Hildesheim.

We are, then, to consider a century of a period conventionally known as the “Dark Ages,” a century even the fragmentary records of which, left from the ravages of time, barbarians, and reformers, reveal such a corpus of humanistic and purely intellectual activities as must challenge the respect of any period in the history of civilization.¹

Since Hrotswitha and her literary successors are still conventionally regarded as the product of a rather insular German culture,

¹ Much has been written about the loss of medieval manuscripts. I cite here a few pertinent instances. Fire at Hildesheim destroyed a large number of books in the library in 1013: “1013—Postea 12 Kal. Febr. peccatis a gentibus principale templum Hildenesheimensis ecclesiae diabolo insidiante per noctem igne succensum, sed solo divinae miserationis subsidio velociter, Deo gratias! est extinctum. Sed hoc ah! ah! nobis est lugendum, quia in eodem incendio cum preciosissimo inexplicabilis et irrecuperabilis copia perit librorum” (*Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, III, 94). Destructive fires during the Middle Ages twice practically wiped out the library at Benedictbeuren, the home of *Carmina Burana*, which includes some valuable Latin drama (“*Chronica Burenses Monasterii*,” *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IX, 237). Hessians in 1631 looted the famous Abbey of Fulda and disposed or scattered to the four winds most of its library (Joseph Lins, *Cath. Encyc.*, VI, 314). And the Protestants in 1562 “sacked the library at Fleury and scattered its treasures.” For a fascinating story of the *Odyssey* and the romance of a medieval manuscript from this monastery, to which we trace our richest collection of medieval Latin drama, see Professor E. K. Rand’s “A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury,” *University of Iowa Philological Quarterly*, I (1922), 258–77. One recalls, also, that the Hildesheim plays are wedged in between a medical prescription and some notes on the abacus, that the Einsiedeln fragment of the St. Nicholas scholars’ play is bound up as the fly-leaf of another manuscript, and that only chance saved the manuscript of *Beowulf* from the fire in 1731 which destroyed the Cottonian manuscripts.

and since certain activities of the tenth and eleventh centuries have an important relation to the topic, a preliminary survey of the age seems essential.¹ During the ninth century the political and cultural center for the West was France. But in 919, with the accession of Henry I, the founder of the German monarchy, the political center shifted to Saxony; by the close of the reign of Otto the Great in 973 the social and cultural center was there also; and during the next one hundred years its monastic and cathedral schools made it a rival of France as an intellectual center. Otto I (the Great) became head of the Holy Roman Empire in 962, with the idea of universal German domination and the re-establishment of the empire of Charlemagne. He was a great conqueror. Embassies of Romans, Greeks, Saracens, and Russians visited his court bringing him gifts. His second wife, Adelaide, a woman of education and talent, was born a princess of Burgundy, and had been queen of Italy, one of the two great sources of classical culture.² Bruno (d. 965), brother of Otto I, imperial royal chancellor, head of the royal chapel, and later archbishop of Cologne, had an excellent education and was widely read in Latin literature, both classical and patristic. He learned Greek through some natives of that country at his brother's court. Here, also, he became acquainted with scholars from Ireland, Italy, France, and Greece, who were drawn to Otto as earlier humanists had been to Charlemagne. Bruno represents the union of church and state fostered by the Ottos and their successors, with the subordination of the church to their ends. Finally, Gerberga, the abbess of Gandersheim during Hrotswitha's time, one of her teachers and a woman of much learning, was a niece of Otto.

¹ For a convenient and more adequate presentation of the facts here summarized see *Cambridge Mediaeval History* (1922), III, chaps. viii-xii and A. Ebert, *Histoire Générale de La Littérature du Moyen Age* (French tr. by Dr. Joseph Aymeric and Dr. James Condamin) (1889) III, 278-85.

² Some results of this new relationship Professor Allen vividly suggests: "Particularly after the coronation of Otto I in 962 do clerks and minstrels journey indefatigably southward, to come back freighted with strange wares in the way of tales and entertaining poems; many a jovial monk and scholar sets this contraband of religion into Latin lines. Soldiers and peddlers back from Italy, eager to boast, eager to please, contribute their quota. The old story is being retold: German armies are crossing the Alps, sweeping victoriously over northern Italy (this time Lombardy), stopping a while near the center of the world's culture to gather their spoils of war, streaming homeward laden with booty, some of gold—most of civilization and of art" ("The Mediaeval Mimus," *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 341-42).

Otto II (973–83) had as teachers Ekkehard II, later called the most learned man in Germany, and Willigis, archbishop of Mayence, a man interested in letters, politics, and art. Otto himself was always interested in the humanities. His marriage to Theophano, a Greek princess of great distinction, widened his circle of interests. So one finds already in Otto II a cosmopolitan: the native German, the Italian and French through his mother, the oriental Greek through Theophano, and the learned Latin from his early training. His son and inheritor, Otto III (983–1002), had as his two teachers a Greek and the humanist Bernward, who later became bishop of Hildesheim. To his court young Otto called the most noted scholar of his day, Gerbert of Aurillac, long head of the famous school at Rheims, and finally Pope Sylvester II. Otto III disavowed his national origin and adopted the idea of re-establishing the ancient Roman Empire along the lines of the Roman Empire of the Orient. In this attitude Gerbert encouraged him. Otto III was a potent influence for the diffusion of cosmopolitan culture throughout Germany.

Henry II (1002–24), his successor, was originally intended for the church. He received his early training under Abraham Bishop of Freising, and was later sent to the cathedral school at Hildesheim. As one result of the bent of his education he was much interested in monastic reform. "In his early years Henry had seen the beneficent change wrought in Bavaria, and exemplified at St. Emmeram's in Ratisbon. After becoming duke, he had forced reform upon the reluctant monks of Altaich and Tegernsee through the agency of Godehard, a passionate ascetic, whom, in defiance of their privilege, he had made abbot of both of these houses. . . . Henry's monastic policy was revealed in 1005 by his treatment of the wealthy abbey of Hersfeld. Complaint made to him by the brethren gave him the opportunity for replacing the abbot by the ascetic Godehard of Altaich, who offered the monks a choice between strict observance of the rule and expulsion. The departure of all but two or three enabled Godehard to dispose of their superfluous luxuries for pious uses, while Henry seized on the corporate lands reserved for the brethren, and added them to the crown for greater feudal services. In the end, Hersfeld under Godehard became again an active religious com-

munity. Between 1006 and 1015 Reichenau, Fulda, and Corvey were likewise dealt with and with like results."¹ With this Godehard, the zealous reformer and the efficient lieutenant of Henry II, we shall have much to do later.

The reign of Henry III (1039-56) marks "the summit of the oldest German imperialism" which was the dream and the vision of the Ottos. Their dream of the restoration of the old Roman Empire and their ideal of a Graeco-Roman culture, from a political and national point of view, were ultimately bad for their country; but from the point of view of an international and cosmopolitan spirit in literature and art, with the Latin language as a common medium of expression, it was fortunate for civilization as a whole.

The activities of Henry II relative to monastic life indicate that during this century the reforms initiated by Odo of Cluny in France one hundred years earlier now extended into Germany. And here I cannot emphasize too strongly that in places where more exacting religious discipline was enforced there we at once find new centers of a quickened intellectual spirit, as evidenced in the establishing of schools and in other humanistic enterprises. Much has been written concerning the significance of these medieval monasteries, but I think nothing more living and colorful for present purposes than the crowded epitome by Professor Allen:

Reichenau, Fulda, Tegernsee, St. Gall, Gandersheim, and Weissenburg—these are but the greatest of the many places in which monk lived with lay-brother, clerk, and student. Now the monastery was not only the house of a religious order, not only a church. It was a school, a university, an inn, a house of refuge, a place of pilgrimage, a hospital, a conservatory of music, a library, a center of culture, a social focus. So men of every sort came to pass through its walls, to remain a while within them. It housed sovereign and Jew, peddler and soldier, poet and minstrel, artisan and artist, the great man on embassy of state, the humble monk back from a far journey.²

Of all who came within its walls, probably from a humanistic point of view, those who contributed most and received most were the secular students:

As young men, unfettered by monastic rules, often irreverent of traditions, human in all that the word implies, eager alike in the pursuit of knowledge and adventure, they wandered from school to school seeking instruction

¹ *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III (1922), 236.

² P. S. Allen, "The Mediaeval Mimus," *Modern Philology*, VIII, 33.

from the most famous teachers of the day, carrying with them everywhere in the world outside the monasteries something of the spirit of the forces that were humanizing and transforming society. Some of these wandering scholars remained such; others took the vows of the order and came in time to rank high in monastic and secular ecclesiastical affairs. But however zealous they might afterwards become in monastic life, and however much age might sober down their youthful spirits, the renaissance had given them its permanent heritage of liberalizing influences.¹

Within these same monasteries and within the cathedral schools as well one of the most popular literary genre was saint's legends—material which was first intended primarily for the services of a particular saint's day, but which later served through its marvelous, miraculous, or deeply tragic content for an escape of the pious from the commonplace. This body of literature was to the church what the secular romances were to the court.

HILDESHEIM²

Bishop Otwin (954–84) is apparently the pioneer in the intellectual and cultural activities of the cathedral of Hildesheim. In the year 962 he was one of those who accompanied Otto the Great on his Italian expedition, when the latter married Adelaide, his second wife, and was made emperor. And Bishop Otwin did not return empty handed. He brought back the two things which made most for distinction among the possessions of a medieval cathedral or monastery and which Italy could best supply—the relics of a saint and books. The former, those of St. Epiphany, he purloined from Pavia in approved medieval fashion, under cover of night, and translated to

¹ G. R. Coffman, *New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*, pp. 40–41.

² Unfortunately the medieval chroniclers of Hildesheim, as well as of other places, show little or no interest in humanistic activities. The only time in our period of over one hundred years that they show an interest in anything besides such matters as prodigies, pestilences, wars, the death or election of an abbot, or the movements of the king is in 1013, when there is a record of the fire which destroyed a large number of the books in the library. (See footnote 1, p. 245). The following are fairly typical: "*Annales Hildesheimenses*," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Ser.*, Vol. III, "958 Signum crucis in vestimentis hominum apparuit, illis qui derisui illud habebant, mortem inferens; illis autem qui pie et religiose illud venerabunt, nihil mali intulit" (p. 60); "998 Eodem anno quaedam mulier in Bavaria in uno partu quinque filios enixa est" (p. 91). I record also two interesting items from the neighboring monastery of Corvey: "*Annales Corbelenses*" in Godfr. Guil. Leibnizius' *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1707–11), Vol. II. "MXXXIII In festo Patroni vendidit Iudaeus canem venaticum caerulei coloris magno pretio. Idem alium habuit cum sex pedibus velociter currentem. In Monasterio omnia bene & tranquille" (p. 303); "MXXXIV In festo S. Ioh. Bapt. ignis fatuus seduxit F. Sebastianum, in viciniore villa qui concionatus erat, Corbelam cum crepusculo rediturum. Altero die ex terrore obiit" (p. 303).

his Saxon diocese with fitting ceremony. As to how he secured the latter we are not informed, but we are told that he brought back such a great supply of books, both Christian and pagan, that those who had been idle before because of their inadequate library now glowed with a zeal for study.¹

But probably the greatest humanist of all the bishops of Hildesheim was Bernward (903-1022), in the record of whose life we are peculiarly fortunate. Thangmar, his biographer, the deacon, the librarian, and the notary of the cathedral, had been the teacher of Bernward when the latter was a boy; and he was probably his closest adviser during the entire period of his bishopric. He accompanied him to Rome on important missions. And twice, when Bernward was unwell, he acted as his personal representative; once at an important synod in Frankfort and later before the Emperor and the Pope at the synod of Todi. The biography is written within a year after Bernward's death.²

Bernward was left an orphan in his early years. As a young boy he was sent to the cathedral school of Hildesheim, where he showed unusual promise. It is in connection with this early period that there occurs in Thangmar's biography a passage which should be quoted to the modernists in educational theories who scorn any connection with the Middle Ages and who regard the doctrine of special privileges for superior students as representing a new and radical departure. For this reason, for the charming picture it presents of the ideal relations between pupil and teacher, and for a glimpse of the cultural life of this *dark age* which is our special study, I paraphrase the passage:

Then the venerable Bishop Osdagus, with a certain commendable foresight, seeing what a great future was before Bernward, urged me repeat-

¹ "Translatio Sancti Epiphani," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 249: "Per id temporis pervigil dominici ovillis provisor Othwinus episcopus, licet corpore suis semotus, tamen studio caritatis illis coniunctus et benivolentia, qua mirifice respersus eos percoluit, quaeque ad suae ecclesiae utilitatem et fratrum commoditatem profutura praesensit, colligere studuit; praecipue tamen, ut fida sibi suisque conciliaret patrocina, reliquas sanctorum, quos apprime ibi celebrari comperit, ab episcopis petiit, facileque obtinuit; simulque, ne eius opera in accipiendi alicuius versutia eluderetur, vir prudens prospexit. Librorum nichilominus tam divinae lectionis quam philosophicae fictionis tantam convexit copiam, ut qui illorum penuria inerti ante torpebant otio, frequenti nunc studiil caleant negotio."

² "Vita Bernardi Episcopi in Hildesheimensis," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 758-82.

edly to make him the object of my special care. So sometimes when I had to go out through the diocese in the service of the Bishop, in order that in accordance with my agreement I might test Bernward's abilities more tactfully and more effectively than I could among the other pupils, I made him my companion; and I found him remarkably versatile and talented out of all proportion to his age. For often during an entire day we passed the time in study while we were riding, now reading a lesson fully as long as though we were doing it in the class room, now collaborating in making verse along the way; then alternating this exercise with prose composition. Again, we would interpret passages, often sweating over syllogistic sophistries. Also, he would repeatedly, but at the same time modestly, quiz me searchingly in a manner which showed an intimate acquaintance with the elements of philosophy. . . . At almost no time, even when he was eating, did he give himself up to leisure.¹

Following this, Thangmar tells that Bernward was just as zealous in his interest in the manual arts; he was distinguished as a copyist, he could paint elegantly, he excelled in sculpture, he was a worker in jewelry, and as an architect he was renowned through the many magnificent buildings whose construction he had directed.²

From 987 to 993 he was a member of the royal household as teacher of young Prince Otto and as chaplain. During the latter year he was appointed bishop to succeed Osdagus. His two main activities for the next thirty years were his controversy with the archbishop of Mayence as to who should have spiritual jurisdiction over the wealthy abbey of Gandersheim, and his leadership in developing the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual life of the diocese. Since

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 758: "Nichilominus ergo venerabilis dominus Osdagus quodam meriti praesagio magnum quid futurum in illo praeviciens, exorcistam ordinavit, diligentius me adhortatus item itemque curam agere. Quem etiam mecum interdum in servitute domni episcopi extra monasterium excedens ducebam, ut illius ingenium, quod in multitudine epheborum discernere et ad votum meum discutere non potui, illis remotis singulari studio subtilius diligentiusque eventilarem, mirumque in modum vario virtutem pigmentario ultra id aetatis respersum repperi. Nam saepe totum diem inter equitatem studendo attrivimus, nunc legendo non minus prolixam lectionem quam si in scholis ad hanc vacaremus, nunc poetizando per viam metro collusimus, inde ad prosicam palaestram exercitium alternantes, interdum simplici contextu contulimus, saepe syllogisticis cavillationibus desudamus. Ipse quoque crebre me, etsi verecunde, acutis tamen et ex intimo aditu philosophia prolatis quaestionibus sollicitabat. Tanta ergo facilitate caput me ingenium michi appladebat; pene nulla hora, nec reflectionis quidem, desidia illum arguebat."

² *Loc. cit.*: "Et quamquam vivacissimo igne animi in omni liberali scientia deflagaret, nichilominus tamen in levioribus artibus quos mechanicos vocant studium impertivit. In scribendo vera adprime enetuit, picturam etiam limati exercuit, fabrilis quoque scientia et arti clusoria omnique structura mirifice excelluit, ut in plerisque aedificiis, quae pompatico decore composuit, post quoque claruit. In negotiis vero domesticis et ad usum rei familiaris pertinentibus vivacissimus executor acsi a puero his nutritus calluit."

we can best consider the former under the story of Gendersheim and Hrotswitha, I omit it for the present. To foster humanistic activities, he increased the library, he encouraged painting and sculpture, he supervised the construction of numerous churches and other edifices, of which St. Michael's abbey church is said to be one of the most magnificent basilicas in Germany; and following the example set by his former teacher, Thangmar, he took the most promising boys to court with him or made them his companions in his travels through the diocese.¹

He acted as general to repel the barbarians from the north and erected fortifications for the defense of his city. He also founded in his diocese St. Michael's monastery. Preserved as evidences of his own manufacture in the cathedral workshop are a beautiful cross and candlestick, bronze doors of the Cathedral, and a column in St. Michael's church. Here is certainly a worthy predecessor of Leonardo da Vinci and other giants of a later intellectual renaissance. Of not least importance to us is the fact that while on an official mission to France in 1006 he visited the shrines of St. Martin of Tours and St. Denis of Paris and translated to Hildesheim relics of those saints, thus establishing close connections with those centers, and in general making for closer relation with France.

Bishop Godehard, his successor (1022-38), is an interesting combination of the religious ascetic and the humanist.² He was born about the year 960 in upper Bavaria and received his training principally in the Abbey of Altaich, of which monastery he became prior shortly after he entered the Benedictine order in 991. Because of his

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 760: "Arduum et difficile est cottidianum eius studium verbis perstringere, quia Deo teste omni nisu inter diem noctemque in divinis perstabat. Nichilominus quoque cunctos sibi adhaerentes ad huiusmodi negotium, ut ita dicam, ultra vires impellebat, nec aliquid artis erat, quod non attemptaret, etiam si ad unguem pertingere non valeret. Scriptoria namque non in monasterio tantum, sed in diversis locis studebat, unde et copiosam bibliothecam tam divinatorum quam philosophicorum codicum comparavit. Picturam vero et sculpturam et fabrilem atque clusoriam artem, et quicquid elegantius in huiusmodi arte excogitare poterat, numquam neglectum patiebatur, adeo ut ex transmarinis et ex scottis vasis, quae regali maiestati singulari dono deferrebantur, quicquid rarum vel eximium reperiret, incultum transire non sineret. Ingeniosos namque pueros et eximiae indolis secum vel ad curtem ducebat vel quocumque longius commeabat, quos, quicquid dignius in ulla arte occurrebat, ad exercitum impellebat."

² The following material concerning Godehard is largely quoted or adapted from my article, "The Cult of St. Nicholas at Hildesheim," in *Mainly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 268-75.

rigor in enforcing higher standards of living and stricter adherence to the rules of monastic life among the members of the order, he was appointed by Emperor Henry II, as we have already learned, to carry out these same reforms in the Abbeys of Hersfeld, Tegernsee, and other places. Shortly preceding 1021 he had retired to Altaich to spend the remainder of his days in study and religious life.¹ But on the death of Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, he was chosen to succeed him, and accepted the position reluctantly only as a result of the urging of the Emperor Henry II. He remained bishop there until his death in 1038.

Wolfherius, his biographer, who was a school boy at Hildesheim when Godehard came into office, who became canon at the cathedral after some years as a student at Hersfeld and an interval at Nieder-Altaich, and who between the years 1038 and 1054² wrote an earlier ("Vita Prior") and a later ("Vita Posterior") story of the Bishop, emphasizes some aspects and interests which are of special significance for us. He tells us that at Altaich, where Godehard was a pupil of Oudalgisus, the future bishop always enjoyed devoting to the study of reading, singing, and writing, the time which the other boys of the school spent in the pleasures of horses, trapping, and fine clothing.³ During his youth, also, he continued his interest in *arte scribendi* and thus collected a considerable library. And of these books, Godehard arranged or edited one which Wolfherius tells us, when he wrote, was still used at Altaich for the musical services and the readings of the

¹ "Vita Godehardi," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, XI, 202-3: "Beatus itaque Godehardus episcopus, senio et labore iam fessus et etiam taedio saecularis curae repletus annuente rege Herveldense regimen illustri viro Arnolde suo prius eo loci praeposito, et Burchardo, aequae venerabili suo primicerio Tegarense commendavit; sicque ad Altaich remeavit, ubi si Deo tantum placuerit, in finem vitae suae in debito ceptae religionis studio perseverare decrevit. Idem enim monasterium omni devotione, ut vel hodie ibi liquet adornare studebat, libris scilicet et preciosissimis missalibus, vestimentis caeterisque variis et utilibus ecclesiasticis ornamentis. Maxime tamen, quod et ubique notissimum est, plurimos in eodem coenobio fratres, scientia et moribus illustres, enutrivit; quos postea inter diversa monasteria patres et doctores, regis ac episcoporum petitione, dispersit."

² *Ibid.*, XI, 167 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 171: "Totum enim studium quod caeteri, ut id iuventutis genus assolet, in eorum falerumque praeciosarum quoque vestium superfluitate pueriliter consumpserant, ipse semper legendo, cantando scribendove divinae servitutis cultui mancipare malebat." The most probable meaning of *scribendo* in this and other passages quoted in this paper, as Professors Beeson and Young inform me, seems to be *copying*, or *writing with a pen*, though another reputable Latin scholar calls my attention to the fact that in classical Latin, at least, the term had fully as general a meaning as our modern word "writing."

ecclesiastical year (*per anni circulum cantandi legendique*).¹ His biographer also emphasizes that, preceding 1022, just before he left Altaich to become bishop at Hildesheim, he was most notable for fostering studies and encouraging students.² This same interest he transferred to the promising boys of the cathedral school at Hildesheim, appointing them for various services about the school and the church.³

And, finally, Wolfherius tells us that Nicholas was Bishop Godehard's patron saint. The passage in which he records this fact occurs pretty well toward the close of the biography. The writer in recounting the virtues of Godehard emphasizes his kindness and generosity toward delinquents. To illustrate these traits in the former bishop of Hildesheim, he recalls the very popular legend of the dowry for the three daughters as recorded in the life of St. Nicholas, employed in the liturgical services of his feast day, and dramatized in plays in his honor. He writes that Godehard acted in accordance with the custom and example of his patron saint, Bishop Nicholas, who with the gold for dowry prevented the incest of the virgins, saved the father from want, and kept the entire family from abominable infamy:

Sed et super delinquentes et noxios mira erat miseratione mitis et placabilis, ita ut si quilibet talium confessionis et poenitentiae gratia ad eum confugerent, et delicta eis prompta clementia statim indulserit, et vigilantia cura eis, ne ulterius in talia necessitatis causa inciderent, omnem sufficientiam in posterum providerit, more quidem et exemplo sancti sui patroni Nycolai

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 172: "Quamvis enim in omni ecclesiasticae utilitatis studio semper fuisset devotus, in scribendi tamen arte praecipue erat studiosus. Ergo in ipsa pueritia numerosam librorum tam divini dogmatis, quam et philosophicae dulcedinis congeriem coacervavit, inter quos tamen bibliothecam quae hodie in eodem monasterio habetur mirae pulchraeque quantitatis sed maioris per anni circulum cantandi legendique utilitatis, non solum scribendo verum etiam gratia humilitatis propriis manibus pergamenum ac cetera necessaria elaborando ordinavit."

² *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3; see n. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206: "Coenobium suum pastorali cura sapienter gubernavit, et fratrum commoda in victu et vestitu caeterisque indigentiae humanae necessariae saepius adauxit; quos etiam ad sacrae religionis observantiam apostolice arguendo et obsecrando multipliciterque informando conduxit. Iuvenes quoque et pueros quos inibi bonae indolis et sapidos invenit, per diversa scholarum studia circumquaque dispersit; quorum certe postea servitium variam ac multiplicem suae ecclesiae utilitatem in lectione scripturae et pictura ac plurali honestiori clericali officii disciplina conquisivit." One of the meanings of *coenobium* in medieval Latin is pertinent here. See Maigne D'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Paris, 1890: "*Coenobium*—Ecclesia cathedralis; *église cathédrale*." This same specialized meaning applies to *monasterium*. *Ibid.*: "*Monasterium* interdum dicitur; 1° Ecclesia quaevis, praesertim vero ecclesia cathedralis; *église, église cathédrale*."

episcopi, qui elemosinarum auro et virginum incestus et patris earum inopiam et totius familiae detestabilem ademit infamiam, et quorumlibet pauperum ad se quoquo modo pertinentium pia clementia sedavit indegentiam. Huius inquam exemplo praesul noster satagebat inopes ubique semper consolari; cui et cordi erat cum talibus colloqui, cum eis ludificando et etiam convivando iocundari.¹

This theme, as I have already indicated, is the subject of one of the two plays contained in the Hildesheim manuscript, the manuscript with the superscription *Lib s̄ci (or ēpi) Godehardi. in hild. Will.* Now there are certain pertinent facts in connection with the important and still unsolved problem:

1. Godehard was not officially canonized until 1131, almost a century after his death. So it is logical to suppose that the *s̄ci* at least was not written until that time.

2. A monastery of St. Godehard in the diocese of Hildesheim was begun in 1132, and the first abbot was appointed in 1136.

3. This abbot, Frederick of Corbey or Fulda, gave to the monastery a large number of books. For the facts concerning the monastery and the books, as well as a suggested relation to the immediate problem, I am indebted to Professor Haskins, who conjectures that the heading, a common superscription to indicate the library to which the book belonged, may have referred to the monastery of St. Godehard and that the manuscript in question may have been one of the books presented by him.² Since the passage from the chronicles of St.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

² See Godfr. Guill. Leibnizius: *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1710), II, 404-26, and *Johannis Legatii Chronicon Coenobii S. Godehardi in Hildesheim*, p. 407: "Anno humanae salvationis 1136, Praesulatus Bernhardi sexto, octavo Kalendrum Juliarum, Monasterio nondum ad plenum consummato, Bernhardus fundator Fredricum Abbatem primum Monasterio eidem praefecit. De Bernhardo (cujus vitam Johannes veteris civitatis Abbas eleganti sermone perscripsit) satis literis traditum est. De Frederico prosequamur. Hunc alii Corbejum, alii Fuldanum, quod est proprius, putant, Virum recte vivendi peritissimum. His est ille Fredericus, qui sancto Godehardo dono dedit amplissimum thesaurum, libros tam venustos & utiles quam pretiosos; non fragili papyro, non flua illa arte impressario, quae sero venit, sed validissimo pergamento compositos: Beatorum Gregoriorum in Job, quos Morales vocat, in tres codices divisos. Collationes veterum Patrum, in duas partes; Omelias divisorum Doctorum anni totius, item in duas. In duas quoque partes Henricum Corbejum Monachum in Omeliis Antiquorum Sanctorum sermones ad populum, & ipsos in duas partes sejunctos, Regnorum, Paralipomenorumque. Vitae confessorum multorum, Abbatum, Sacerdotum ac Monachorum in codibus tribus, & alios multos, de quibus longum esset memorare, eo atramento, ea arte ea manu scriptos, ut ipsos nulla umquam possit abolere vetustas. Aeterni habentur. His ille scripturarum instrumentis fabricatus est gradum vitae sempiternae. Quam recte dictum est, virum recte vivendi peritissimum, Intellige Magistrum ex instrumentis. Qualis enim quisquam sit artifex, talia instrumenta sunt ejusdem."

Michael recording the gift lists only a few of the books, the absence of reference to this manuscript is of no significance. However, the identity of the content of the little play and of the story told by Wolphere concerning the patron saint of Godehard inclines me to believe that the manuscript had been in Hildesheim before this time.

4. Professor Beeson's judgment concerning the heading complicates rather than solves the problem of *sci* or *epi*. He writes: "There is no doubt that the original reading was *sci*; this was later—much later probably—corrected to *epi*. The lower curve of the *c* was erased, and possibly the lower part of the *s*. The parchment is rough here and you cannot tell whether the *s* has been scratched or not. You can still see the *s* plainly. The ink is a thin, dirty black, and not at all like the golden brown of the xi c text or of the heading, which is xii c. The text is xi cs., heading xii c."¹ A final solution of the problems in connection with this manuscript may go far toward clearing up the whole matter of the origin of the miracle play.

For the present I close the story of Hildesheim with a reference to Benno II, headmaster of the cathedral school about 1048, and to Hezilo, bishop from 1054 to 1079. Benno II, in some respects, carried on the traditions of the school. He was imperial architect under Henry III and "as such supervised the construction of numerous castles and churches in the empire. When the Rhine, which flowed close to the cathedral of Speyer, threatened to undermine the foundation of the building, Benno saved the majestic structure by changing the course of the river."² Of Hezilo we unfortunately have no adequate biography. We do know that he gave his attention to instruction in the school, however, that he completed his studies in France, and that he was a zealous student of the classical authors.³

GANDERSHEIM AND HROTSWITHA

Historically, the connection between Hildesheim and Gandersheim, an abbey about 20 miles south of the cathedral town, is so close that we pass from the one to the other without any break in continuity. It is to the controversy between Hildesheim and Mayence

¹ Professor Beeson in the same letter adds: "I find no evidence as to the authorship for any of the parts. I don't know what *Will* means. . . . I have asked the reading-room expert and he does not know."

² See "Benno II," *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, II, 481-82.

³ See Th. Lindner, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XII, 323.

over the jurisdiction of Gandersheim that we owe any adequate history of this home of Hrotswitha; for the poet's own story is a typical medieval *Dichtung und Wahrheit*—a blend of fact, fiction, and miracles.¹ The account, by Thangmar, occurs in the biography in the midst of a record of Bernward's acts as bishop. Since the controversy as to who should have direct spiritual authority arose during Bernward's term of office, Thangmar digresses to review the whole history of Gandersheim in order to justify the bishop's acts. Though we have no account of the Mayence side of the controversy, we have no reason to doubt that with an exception, which I shall indicate later, Thangmar's account is essentially correct.

From 852, when the monastery was founded by Count Liudolf and his wife, ancestors of the Ottos, until the time of Osdagus (984-93), the immediate predecessor of Bernward, the bishops of Hildesheim had consecrated all the buildings of the monastery, had installed the abbesses, had veiled the virgins entering the monastic life there, and had had complete spiritual supervision and bishopric control without question or opposition from anyone.

The whole trouble began with Sophia, a sister of Otto III. Having decided to enter the monastery at Gandersheim, she requested Willigis, archbishop of Mayence, to officiate in the sacramental act of veiling her, deeming it unworthy to be consecrated by anyone of less rank than an archbishop. Bishop Osdagus, not suspecting the discord that would result, at first gave his consent. The archbishop immediately seized upon this opportunity to declare that the veiling of the nuns and all other episcopal power were his rights and duties.² When the day for the ceremony came, however, after a long discussion which put Willigis in disfavor because of his apparent

¹ The principal sources for the history of Gandersheim are Thangmar's life of Bernward and Wolthere's life of Godehard (*op. cit.*). To these add contemporary chronicles; Hrotswitha's poem, "Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis" (*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Berlin [1902], pp. 229-47); diplomatic records of privileges granted by popes and emperors; and the account by Bodo, a Benedictine monk of Clusa, a monastery in the neighborhood of Gandersheim, written about 1521. Bodo, however, has merely used the sources just listed; sometimes he even employs Thangmar's phraseology. For Bodo, see Henricus Meibom: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (1668), II, 479-509.

² "Vita Bernwardi Episcopi in Hildeshemensis," *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IV, 764: "Nactus itaque opportunam tempus domnus Osdagus, archiepiscopus secretius qua auctoritate id ageret requisivit; cum ille minaci vultu mordacius ad suam parrochiam pertinere respondit, et statua die se ancillas Dei velaturum, omnemque episcopalem potestatem in illo loco se adempturum promisit."

animosity, Osdagus suddenly arose and asked the king, then the other guardians, if they agreed to his veiling Sophia. On their agreeing he veiled her, after which he veiled the other novitiates. Then he announced to all that the archbishop had no authority at Gandersheim except by the permission of the bishop of Hildesheim. It looked as though this settled the matter. Peace continued under Osdagus and his successor Gerdagus, and for some years during Bernward's term of office.

But with the entry of Sophia, who had doubtless been deeply humiliated by the sudden final turn of affairs, a change came over this monastery. Disobedience and laxness became the order of the day. Unfortunately, just at this time when strong discipline was needed, Gerberga, the abbess, was unwell. The novitiates, delicately reared (*delicatus enutritiae*), rebelled against the discipline. Sophia was, of course, the ringleader in all of this. Finally she left the monastery and returned to the palace. Here she remained two years, strengthening the faction of the archbishop and spreading abroad all kinds of rumors. Then Bishop Bernward persuaded her to return to the monastery and tried to change her spirit; but she fled again, this time to the archbishop, as though he were her protector. She aroused him with her bitter words, annulling her veiling by the bishop, and saying that many regarded the monastery at Gandersheim as being rightfully under the supervision of Mayence. This stirred up the archbishop against Bernward. With so much accomplished, she returned to Gandersheim to organize the sisters. As a result, when Bernward next visited Gandersheim he was treated as if he were a stranger.

In the meantime, in the year 1000, a new church was ready for dedication at Gandersheim. Gerberga, still an invalid, turned over the details of the ceremony to Sophia, who hastened at once to the archbishop and arranged with him for the dedication, which was set for September 14. Bernward was invited to attend. Contrary to the wishes of many he promised to do so. But when the archbishop, for some unknown reason, changed the date to September 21 and sent an official order to Bernward to be present at that time, the latter replied that on account of imperial orders and certain businesses he would be unable to be present. On the day originally set for the

dedication, however, he went to Gandersheim to perform the ceremony himself. He not only found nothing ready but, instead, a force prepared to eject him if he insisted on consecrating the church. This was the result of Sophia's activities.¹ Bernward started to celebrate mass. The congregation, and the mob also, which had heard of the bishop's presence, interrupted and insulted him in the midst of the service. In turn, by canonical authority, he forbade the dedication of the church except by his consent. The sisters were so indignant that when the time for oblations came they threw down the offerings instead of bringing them to the altar.²

In the meantime the archbishop and the abbess went ahead with preparations without consulting Bernward. At the time appointed by them the bishop was not present, but sent as his representative Bishop Eggehard of Schleswig,³ who appeared with several older members of the diocese and with some leaders from the monastery (St. Michael's?).

Bernward had chosen his representative wisely, for Eggehard became master of the situation, forbade the dedication, and called a synod, the first of several, for settling the difference.⁴ Before departing, the bishops, of whom there were a number present, realizing that they had a common cause, sent word to Bernward to put the case up to the emperor and the pope, agreeing that they would stand with him unless those authorities ruled against him. So Bernward journeyed to Rome, where he was most favorably received by both, but especially by his former pupil the emperor, who was very fond of him. They later sent him a communication condemning the action of the archbishop. At the synod called by Eggehard the archbishop came with a number of foreign bishops who had no business there, but Eggehard was again successful in confirming Bernward in his rights.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 766: "She had counselled frequently with the Archbishop"; "Sophie assidue illi cohaerens et cohabitans, haec interdum noctuque ambiebat."

² *Ibid.*: "Verum cum ad oblationem ventum est, oblatas indignatione et incredibili furore prociunt, saeva maledictione episcopo ingerunt."

³ Bishop Eggehard was a guest of Bernward's at this time because his own bishopric had been overrun by the barbarians and his church depopulated. See *op. cit.*, pp. 773 and 778.

⁴ In connection with the sermon at mass, Eggehard caused to be read certain privileges before unknown which could not be taken away from the church: "quicquid tunc in decimis vel praediis vel ulla re in vestitura contineret."

Prince Henry now took a hand in an attempt to settle the matter. A country-wide synod was convened with the pope presiding. The assembly confirmed the contentions of Bernward. The pope annulled all the acts of Archbishop Willigis at Gandersheim and reaffirmed the rights of Bernward. He also set another synod to be held in Germany, at which place the pope's representative was to announce the decree and to warn Willigis to desist from further activities. When the synod was convened a howling mob friendly to the archbishop broke open the doors and threatened Bernward and the papal legate. When the archbishop saw that he could not have his way, he and his faction secretly withdrew before the next morning. Because of this the legate suspended him from all episcopal authority. When the vicar carried back to the pope and the emperor a report of the proceedings, they, thoroughly aroused, ordered a convening of all the Teutonic bishops about Christmas; and they were to bring their vassals with them prepared to fight wherever the emperor should command.

In the interim, Bernward tried to make an official visit to Gandersheim. There he was opposed by an army, the real commander of which appears to have been Sophia. The local bishops saw that an impossible state of affairs was being developed. So at a convention called at Friedeslar they decided that neither the bishop nor the archbishop could have anything to do with Gandersheim. At the Christmas convention, called by the pope and the emperor, nothing was decided because a complete assembly was not present.

Shortly after this occurred the death of the emperor and the installation of Henry II. And by the death of Gerberga, Sophia fell heir to the office of abbess and was consecrated by Archbishop Willigis. But on Christmas Day, 1007, Henry effected a settlement, as a result of which Willigis publicly renounced his rights and agreed that neither he nor his successors would ever reopen the controversy. During the remainder of the archbishop's life and during the term of his successor Erkenbald (1011-20) harmonious relations again existed between Hildesheim and Mayence. Archbishop Aribo, who succeeded Erkenbald, tried unsuccessfully to involve Bernward in the matter again.

When Aribo persisted in his claims during the opening years

of Godehard's term of office, a decree of Henry II in 1022, later confirmed by Conrad II in 1025 and 1027, finally settled the issue. But it was not until 1030, a year before his death, that Aribo actually renounced his claims, and at a public meeting confessed to Godehard that he had raised them "partly in ignorance and partly out of malice."¹

The judgment of Bodo, the Benedictine monk of the sixteenth century who wrote a history of Gandersheim, is only incidental to our main interest in the controversy; but I mention it in passing. He decides that according to the terms of founding, ratified by successive rulers from time to time, the monastery should have been subject only to papal authority, that consequently the abbesses had the right to call in whatever bishops they wished to veil the virgins or consecrate the buildings, and that since the controversy limited itself entirely to a question of *which* bishop had the rights, held through custom by Hildesheim, the authorities never concerned themselves with the real issue.² But the facts of main interest, which justify this apparently impertinent, lengthy digression are: that the details of the whole affair emphasize the closest possible relation between the cathedral of Hildesheim and the monastery of Gandersheim, and that Gandersheim, instead of being merely an insular monastery for daughters of the royalty and the nobility, became the center of one of the most bitterly contested and widely known controversies in all the empire, a controversy which would also be likely to direct the attention of the country as a whole toward its activities.³

HROTSWITHA THE POETESS OF GANDERSHEIM

Gandersheim's chief claim to distinction rests in Hrotswitha, who enters the present discussion because of her so-called adaptations of Terence. This is no place for extended conjectures concerning

¹ See "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 206, 208; *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III, 255-56.

² See Bodo, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

³ The controversy has some interesting personal angles: Theophano, the regent for young Otto III, took sides with her daughter in favor of Willigis. Possibly the fact that "in the administration of the kingdom she was assisted by Willigis, who took charge of affairs in Germany during her absence in Italy," may have influenced her. Of the two principals in the dispute, Willigis was a former teacher of Bernward, and Bernward was a former teacher of Otto III.

her life nor for detailed analysis of her literary work.¹ She was probably of noble family. According to evidence in her literary productions, she apparently was born toward the close of the first quarter of the tenth century and died early in the last quarter, or a short time before the opening of the famous controversy just reviewed. She tells us that her teachers were Rikkardis, a nun of Gandersheim; Gerberga, the abbess, niece of Otto II and daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; and certain "learned men" who read her literary attempts and encouraged her in them. These consist of a history of the founding of Gandersheim, an eulogistic epic concerning the deeds of Otto I, reigning emperor, and eight saints' legends—all the former in verse; and finally six so-called dramas in prose, all of which are saints' legends. Her output reveals in summary two, and only two, interests: in her royal patron, for the history of the monastery was to the glory of the reigning house, since its founders, Liudolf and his wife, were ancestors of Otto I; and in the romances of the church, for all the legends and dramas treat of the lives, passions, or miracles of saints.² It may be only a coincidence, but it is at least interesting to recall that the period of her literary activity is contemporary with the beginnings of a cultural renaissance in Hildesheim; for, as we have already learned, it was in 962 that Otwin brought back from Italy the books which initiated intellectual activity at the cathedral. Furthermore, her dialogues were written probably at least seventy-five years before the earliest miracle plays. For present purposes these are the essential facts concerning Hrotswitha.

At this point, lest I should be misunderstood in what follows, I pause to make two categorical statements:

1. It is contrary to all evidence to hold that Hrotswitha's dialogues were acted. I thought that the ghost of this fallacy had been

¹ The standard edition of Hrotswitha's works is by Paul de Winterfeld, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Hrotswithae Opera* (Berlin, 1902). There are modern German, French, and English translations of her dramatic dialogues.

² *Gallicanus* is the story of the conversion and martyrdom of a Roman commander; *Dulcitius* records the martyrdom of three holy virgins, Agape, Chlonia, and Irena, with the comic interlude in which the villain Dulcitius under delusion makes love to pots and pans in the kitchen and emerges all sooty; *Callimachus* concerns itself with the guilty passion of the hero for Drusiana, of his death, of the miraculous restoration of both, and of the conversion of Callimachus; *Abraham* treats of the fall and repentance of Mary, niece of the hermit; *Paphnutius* has as its theme the story of Thais, later rationalized by Anatole France; *Sapientia* is of the martyrdom of Faith, Hope, and Charity, daughters of Sapientia.

forever laid; but it appears in all its illogical panoply in the introduction to a most recent translation of these "plays."¹

2. The legends in dialogue are not written in honor of any patron saint, nor for any special occasion, nor in verse, nor with musical accompaniment. In all of these respects they are different from miracle plays.

But there is also something to be said on the other side:

1. Contrary to the conventional view, her connection with Terence is only incidental. Reading this Latin dramatist who had written hundreds of years before her period suggested to her creative imagination a product which is neither classical comedy nor medieval miracle play. But in spirit and content it is akin to the miracle play, and entirely medieval rather than Terentian or classical.

2. Since by her own statement these "dialogues" were intended to replace Terence among the pious—e.g., those in monasteries—and since Terence was recited in monastic schools, is it inconsistent to suppose that these also were recited before various neighboring audiences? The fact that she had learned patrons to whom she submitted her literary efforts² shows that her work passed beyond the walls of Gandersheim. And, as I have already suggested, it is pretty likely that one who had contributed so much to the intellectual and cultural life of the monastery only a few years before the famous controversy would become rather widely known among her contemporaries. Evidence, which I shall present in a moment, indicates almost certainly actual literary connections with St. Emmeram, an important monastery in northern Bavaria.

3. Despite the conventional view that she had no influence on medieval Latin drama in its origin and development, it seems to me, in view of the evidence, logical to conjecture that in this period of the popularity of the Christmas and Easter plays, some individual, again with a creative imagination, may have caught the suggestion

¹ See *The Plays of Roswitha* (Chatto and Windus, 1923), translated by Christopher St. John, with an Introduction by Cardinal Gasquet and a critical Preface by the translator. The translator cites in his translation as a proof of their being dramatized a stage direction for which there appears no authority in the Latin of the Winterfeld edition. Hrotswitha's Preface and the medieval practice of merely reciting Terence should be final proof that she did not intend her dialogues for presentation.

² See *Opera*, *op. cit.*, p. 107, *Epistola Eiusdem ad Quosdam Sapientes Hulus Libri Fautores*.

for a miracle play from Hrotswitha's dialogues, and from current liturgical drama, as applied to the content of a particular saint's legend and adapted to his honor on his feast day. For we know in general that the process of creating a new literary type is through suggestion rather than through imitation. In presenting this conjecture to be considered along with the conventional view mentioned above, I emphasize that I have here nothing to do with the immediate *source* of the *form* of the miracle play as we find it.

4. Finally, to return again to solid ground, these dialogues are at least a product of the same literary fashion and of the same cultural environment as the St. Nicholas plays. They are the literature of a cult, the romances of the Church.

ST. EMMERAM AND OTHLO

A moment ago I mentioned that there was evidence for literary connections between Gandersheim and St. Emmeram, a monastery at some distance to the south in Regensburg. The only manuscript of Hrotswitha's works known—of the late tenth or the early eleventh century—was found there at the end of the fifteenth century by Conrad Cēltes, a German humanist.¹ Winterfield, who devoted ten or eleven years to his task as editor, conjectures that this was a copy sent by the abbess, Gerberga, whose home had been in that district of Germany, to St. Emmeram. He conjectures, also, that Gerberga, as daughter of the duke of Bavaria, may have been taught by "*sapientissimis s. Emmerammi patribus*" and that Hrotswitha, for her references to Boethius and other literary productions, may have read manuscripts in St. Emmeram's library. Without necessarily accepting these conjectures, we can state that we have here another link in a chain of interesting connections. To these I now turn.

An account of the rich cultural life of St. Emmeram as a whole during the eleventh century need not detain us at this time. Our direct interest, in addition to the fact that Hrotswitha's works were found there, is in Othlo, a monk who was a member of this abbey for about forty years, between 1030 and 1070. From the point of

¹ This manuscript is now preserved in the Munich library, *Codicis Monacensis*, lat. n. 14485 (olim s. Emmerammi E CVIII). For brief sketch concerning Cēltes, see *Cath. Encyc.*, III, 492-93.

view of the present study he interests us because of his relations with Hildesheim and because of his life of St. Nicholas.

Othlo was a versatile author of "vision" stories, of saints' legends, of homilies, of textbooks, of learned colloquies, of various poetry, and of an autobiography. He was a teacher in the monastic school for years. He was a copyist of high order. He was a humanist; but if he had not been a sensitive mystic, he might have become a harsh ascetic. The story of his life, as he tells it in his autobiography, and his visions represent a happy blending of the fine, sensitive, spiritual revelations of a John Bunyan and the delightful rationalized self-satisfaction of an Arnold Bennett reviewing his successful literary career. And he is unforgettably modern in other respects, especially for those in academic life. In his youth, after he has completed his training, he prays God that he may be located in a place where he will have plenty of books. And in his later years, when he is well established at St. Emmeram, he laments because he is so loaded up with teaching and other duties that he has no time, except late at night, on Sundays, and on holidays, for writing and for other individual work.¹

He was born about the year 1010 in the diocese of Freising, a district that was later the home of some of the most interesting manuscripts of the early liturgical plays. As a very young child he was sent to school at Tegernsee during about the same years when Godehard, as abbot, under the orders of Henry II, was re-establishing the

¹ For the collected works of Othlo see *P.L.*, 146, cols. 9-454; also Bernard Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, III (1721), x-xix, and Part II, Vol. III, cols. 141-623. For his literary autobiography (*Liber De Temptatione Cuisdam Monachi*) and for selections from his book of visions (*Libri Visionum*) see *Mon. Ger. Hist. Ser.*, XI, 376-93. The most recent summary of his life and work is by Max Manitius, *Gesch. der Lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, Zweiter Theil (1923), pp. 83-103. I am largely indebted to him for the following sketch. Pez has very conveniently quoted the two passages to which I refer above. I take them from *P.L.*, 146, cols. 10 and 11. As to his prayer as a young man: "Caeterum Othlonus e Francia reversus paulo post liberalium artium disciplinis se imbuendum magistris praebuit, adeo annuentibus Musis ut contentionis laude, omnes sodales facile anteliret Poeticis praecipue, ut ipse testatur, delectabatur, ardebatque tanto proficiendi aestu, ut Deum constanter rogaret ut sibi locum praestaret, in quo copiam haberet librorum." And his complaint in later years runs (col. 11): "Nam pro eo, ait, quod saepius legere, aut scribere, aut dictare videbar, scholasticorum cura mihi commissa est; ex quibus nimirum omnibus ita per gratiam Dei constringebar, ut saepe corpus quieti necessariae non permitterer tradere. Cumque dictandi studium inesset, ad hoc saepissime non habui tempus, nisi in festis diebus, aut noctibus, constrictus videlicet et puerorum cura ad docendum, et illorum petitione, quibus scribere coepi, ad scribendum."

Benedictine rule there. Here while still a child he secretly taught himself to write and was regarded as a boy-wonder when he took up the stylus and wax tablet—the medieval slate and pencil. He early showed talent for writing. While still young he was transferred to the school at Hersfeld, another monastery reformed by Godehard. One of his schoolmates here was Wolphere, of Hildesheim, who, as we have already learned, later became Godehard's biographer. About 1024 he was sent as a traveling scholar to France to complete his education. Here he gave himself so unremittingly to reading and copying that he almost lost his sight. About 1022, despite his father's objections, he had made a vow to enter the monastic life; but after he had completed his education and returned home he held himself not bound by the vow. So he remained outside, became a kind of private secretary to a bishop and turned with delight to the classics. He enjoyed especially Lucan. As a result of this pagan reading he became ill, according to his own account, and had a terrible vision. He dreamed that his clothing and his bed dripped with blood. He was urged to enter the monastery, but he recovered and held to his determination to remain in the world. Sickness overtook him again. Now convinced of God's purpose for him, he requested the monks of St. Emmeram to receive him. This was in 1032. During the remainder of his life, except for an interval of a few years, this was his home. Here at Emmeram, on account of his learning, he was at once made a teacher, although he was really too young for the responsibility. He now regarded classical literature as sinful and turned to holy writings.¹ He now, also, had to endure temptations of all kinds, and he let his ecstatic state of mind lead him to long communings with God. These as revealed in his "visions" and his book of temptations constitute his spiritual autobiography.²

¹ For his reaction against classical literature as revealed in *De Doctrina Spirituali*, see *P.L.*, 146, col. 270, Capitulum XI: *De libris vitandis et de studio sacrae lectionis*:

"Libros devita qui dant carnalia scita,

Ut sentire queas librorum dicta sacrorum

Quo ergo Deus jussit credentes cernere quid sit,

Sub qualique schola valet esse vacatio tanta?

Forsthan ex aliquo quaerenda haec norma profano,

Ut sunt: Horatius, Terentius et Juvallis,

Ac plures alii quos sectatur schola ferentes,

Ut per eos nobis pandatur lex pietatis,

Instinctu Satanae qui promunt pessima quaeque?"

² A task of great value which I propose is a translation of the vision and the book of temptations.

Among congenial spirits he came to know was a Henry of Reichenau, a guest several times at St. Emmeram. At Henry's request he recorded their discussions in a colloquy or dialogue. By 1062 he was deacon in the monastery. Because he was unable to get along with Reginhard, the abbot, he requested permission to go to Fulda, a famous monastery near Hildesheim. It was to Abbot Wicrad of Fulda that he dedicated his life of St. Nicholas, written before this date at the urgent request of his brothers at St. Emmeram. After four years at Fulda and a year at Amorbach he returned to St. Emmeram, where he spent his last days in literary work. He appears to have died not long after 1070.

The closing passages of his autobiography, written during his last years, are of special value in connection with the cultural life of the period. Here it is that he tells of learning to write at a precociously early age, of the fear of the teacher that he would never learn to write a beautiful hand because he had taught himself, of his work as a copyist and author, of his objection to the burden of teaching the boys at the monastery because it interfered with his writing, of his literary activities, and of his gifts of books to friends in various parts of the country. He must have been an indefatigable worker, because he has a list a page long in the large folio *Monumenta* of books he copied and sent around as gifts.¹

His fifth story in his book of visions is of special interest to us. It is an incident relating how God rebuked a monastery in Hildesheim because of the fashionable and expensive dress of the monks there. This story, he informs his readers in the Introduction, he had as a boy at Hersfeld from his schoolmate Wolphere, who had been sent to Hersfeld by Bishop Godehard. It apparently has connections with Godehard's monastic reforms. By way of contrast with a contemporary story of the monastery of St. Michael, founded by Bishop Bernward, it is very pertinent. The chronicler of St. Michael writes that this monastery was very popular and had unusually high standards during the eleventh century. Clerks, who had not taken the monastic vows, came to live there. Punishment was exacted for unexcused tardiness at services of the choir, at meals, or at dormitories. Although no longer pupils in school, these clerks were held to more rigid restrictions and feared discipline more than if they actually were

¹ See *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, XI, 393.

still school boys. They had to read the Scripture daily before the deacon, to recite the Gospels, and to take part in singing. They dressed and lived very simply; and although they had not yet renounced the world, they were not *of* it.¹ Here certainly were clerks and students unwilling to become monks but willing to stand the gaff of the severe discipline because of the intellectual advantages of the monastery.

This is not the place for a comprehensive review of Othlo's literary work, but his book of proverbs is worthy of our attention. This was begun while he was at Fulda. It is a textbook for small boys in the monastic schools and is to be used by them after their reading of the Psalter. He regards his selections as clearer than the fabulous sayings of Avianus and more useful than the Distichs of Cato, both of which almost all masters were "accustomed to use for the first instruction of boys." His purpose, as he tells us, was to replace heathen precepts with Christian teachings. But, as Manitius remarks, here are borrowings from classical literature and a lot of other ancient proverbs; along with many proverbs of Seneca appear verses out of Horace and Juvenal and out of the Distichs of Cato. I have glanced through the book only hastily; but according to Manitius by far the greatest number of the proverbs come, as one would expect, from the Bible or the works of the Fathers.²

¹ See *Chronica Episcoporum Hildensheimensium, Nec Non Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Michaelis Cum Supplementis Ex Binis Catalogis Episcoporum Ex MSS.* In II, 787, Godfr. Guill. Leibnitiuss: *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1710): "His temporibus (Albert, the second abbot, 1030-1044) & sequentibus usque ad tempus *Delhmari*, qui XVus in ordine fuit, Hildenshemensis Clerus tam districta religione & religiosa districtione Dei obsequio se mancipavit, ut in professione canonica districtione gauderet Monachia. Nam ut taceam, quam severe animadvertebatur, si quis choro, mensae, dormitorio non dico deesse, sed tardius adesse, non autem gravi necessitate retentus, aut licentia animatus praesumerat: Scholaris disciplinae iugo absoluti artiori habena in clauastro servabantur, & quotidianum scripturam Decano praesentare; Evangelium cum lectione, cantum quoque, ipsos tum etiam Psalmos reddere cogebantur; ut timidius in clauastro quam in schola ferulae manum subducere viderentur. Deliciosoris etiam vestitus tam nulla illis erat cura, ut gulas quibus nunc clerus ardet, nescirent; linguas pellicales ac manicas non pallio sed nigrato panno ornarent; linguas autem claustralium superpellicarum non minus, quam tunicarum equestrum sibularent. Sic igitur rusticae stultitiae curali facitiae praetulerunt; sic fortunam administrabantur, affectando, tam interius quam exterius claustrali districtione clausi, renunciato nondum seculo, seculum nescirent."

² A translation of this most interesting literary production should be made, as an example of a medieval primer intended to supplant the most popular pagan book of proverbs for centuries.

A forged account of the translation of St. Dionysius to St. Emmeram, an event which never took place, and of course intended for the advantage of the monastery, Manitius regards as having been written by Othlo. It adds nothing to his credit, and seems inconsistent with everything else we know about him.

I think that a summary of certain significant facts will justify this extended treatment of Othlo.

1. The facts that his early training was at Tegernsee and Hersfeld and that Wolfhere, a charge of Godehard's, was his schoolmate at the latter place connect him from his earliest years with Godehard.

2. The fact that he wrote a life of St. Nicholas, who was Godehard's patron saint, is, to say the least, a most interesting coincidence. The further facts that he wrote it at the urgent request of his brother-monks at St. Emmeram and that he dedicated it to Bishop Wicrad of Fulda show that direct interest in the saint was not confined to one church or monastery and that the interest was not confined to the mere possession of relics in an altar.¹

3. The fact that he completed his academic training in a French school makes him a product of both German and French culture. It would be most interesting, and possibly significant, to know what school or schools he attended in France. Fleury was one of the three or four leading academic centers of that day. Because of Gerbert's earlier connections with Germany, Rheims and Aurillac would also make a special appeal.

¹ In this connection, of genuine significance is the interest in St. Nicholas at Eichstadt, a bishopric approximately only twenty miles east of St. Emmeram. There, according to an anonymous chronicler who wrote about 1075, Bishop Reginoldus (965 f.), a contemporary of Hrotswitha, composed an *historia* of St. Nicholas. The Bollandists think that this composition was a biography or legend and that it is in a manuscript of the thirteenth century from Namur, Belgium. (See *Analecta Bollandiana*, I, 501; II, 143-51). At the close of the life in this manuscript is an account of a miracle performed for St. Emmeram through St. Nicholas. I find nothing in volume I or II to show that this life was written by Reginoldus. Further, I question whether the chronicler of Eichstadt really means biography or legend. In the first place, as he reviews the accomplishments of Reginoldus—i.e., he was learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and was one of the best musicians of his time—he mentions that the bishop: "*historiam sancti Nicolai fecit, et per hoc episcopalem dignitatem promeruit. Accepto autem episcopatu, summo studio summaque devotione historica de sancto Willibado carmina composuit, totamque scientiae suas vim in his decorandis atque mirabiliter, variandis excitavit.*" (For an excellent exposition of the term *historia* as probably employed here, see Karl Young, "Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play," *Manly Anniversary Studies* [1923], pp. 257-68). Then, the chronicler in the second paragraph preceding his account of Reginoldus speaks of the fact that a certain Wolfhard set forth a *vita* of St. Walpurga, thus implying a clear distinction between the two words *Historia* and *vita*: "*Wolfhardus . . . passionalem librum reuera utilem, utpote singulorum in anno dierum festa pleniter continentem, edidit, sed et vitam sanctae Walpurgae eodem episcopo praecipiente quattuor libris explicuit.*" (For the complete data here summarized, see *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, VII, 256-57). I think the chronicler is referring to the *cursus*, or musical religious service for St. Nicholas. In any event, the interest of this early humanist, Reginoldus, in St. Nicholas, in connection with the proximity of St. Emmeram to this bishopric (Eichstadt), is of too great importance to pass without notice. (Othlo mentions, in his list of books given away, one to a nun at Eichstadt.)

4. The fact that the contemporary manuscript of Hrotswitha was found at St. Emmeram suggests direct literary relations between these two monasteries. And the fact that Bavaria was the girlhood home of Abbess Gerberga, a teacher of Hrotswitha, tends to confirm this connection.

5. The facts that Othlo had a rich classical training, that he repented of it for forty years, and that he wrote a textbook to supplant pagan authors, make him a most interesting literary successor of Hrotswitha, whose experiences and whose avowed purpose in writing her dialogues, as expressed in her Preface, present a striking analogy to Othlo's.

A crowd of conjectures concerning the possible direct relation between these facts, as well as others not summarized here, and the origin of the miracle play, clamor for expression. But with the many main highways still unexplored, not to mention rich labyrinthian by-paths, I refuse to indulge them at this time.

Before I turn to a brief and more comprehensive final summary, I indicate in a word a few other interesting cultural relations:

1. Tegernsee, a place which Godehard reformed and at which Othlo received his early training, is the home of *Antichrist*, the *Tendenzschrift* drama of about 1160.

2. Benedictbeuern, the home of a Latin passion play, of the *Carmina Burana*, and of the Latin-vernacular Christmas and Easter plays of the twelfth century, which were shot through with the spirit of paganism and the intellectual renaissance, was reformed during the eleventh century, 1032-62 to be exact, by two abbots and eleven monks from Tegernsee. The two abbots from Tegernsee enriched the abbey at Benedictbeuern with gifts of a large number of books.¹

3. Freising, the home of a developed Magi Christmas play, is the center of the diocese in which Benedictbeuern is located. One will recall, also, that Othlo came originally from Freising.

4. From material presented by me in an earlier study,² I should recall, also, that the cult of St. Nicholas had long been in Germany, that he was an Oriental saint, and that the Byzantine influence at the court would tend to increase his popularity.

¹ See *Mon. Ger. Hist. Scr.*, IX, 219-22.

² See also footnote above relative to Reginoldus.

A numerical summary is bald, but it has the virtue of definiteness. I wish to be definite.

1. I am not certain whether the author of the first miracle play lived in France or in Germany; but I expect that such material as I have here presented will have its part in the solution along with the indispensable study of verse, hymns, and textual relations. And it should certainly assist in an understanding of the place and significance of the saints' plays in medieval drama.

2. From the evidence here presented there should be no doubt that the intellectual life of Germany during this period was cosmopolitan and that the environment was most congenial for St. Nicholas and for creative literary activity.

3. The evidence proves, also, I believe, that Hrotswitha's dialogues were no isolated and sporadic product, but an integral expression of this cosmopolitan cultural life, and that whether or not they influenced the creator of the miracle play, they at least show interesting contemporary relations.

4. Finally, I wish to emphasize again that we have here to do with a truly international literature. Such a product ignores geographical boundaries and passes from one country to another without change of linguistic medium—a process which often creates a distinguishable change in spirit. It is for this reason, I believe, that our researches in medieval Latin literature and in medieval Latin drama especially have often been inconclusive or misleading. Scholars have often failed to consider sufficiently the comprehensive and closely knit cultural life of the Middle Ages. Despite national differences there was only one ruler; and for scholars in the humanities there was only one medium of expression.

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NEUTRAL OR SUPPORTING VOWELS IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH

In pronouncing a vowel or a consonant, the one essential is that breath pass through the mouth or the nose, as the case may be. This column of breath is modified by the action of the lips, tongue, jaws, and soft palate. It may be directed through the nose, through the mouth, or part through the nose and part through the mouth at the same time. The size of the column may also be augmented or diminished, or the air current may be completely shut off or suddenly and completely released. In modifying the air current the vocal organs play a rôle similar to that of the keys of a wind instrument. Just as the keys may be manipulated without producing anything more than a metallic click if at the same time air is not being forced through the instrument, so likewise we may do what we will with the vocal organs and no speech will result unless there is a current of air passing through the nose or mouth or both.

This fact has often been overlooked; it has been thought that air tended to pass through the mouth continuously from the beginning of a breath-group to the end, because not only physiological movements in the production of sound but the sounds themselves have been considered as having three elements always present—an implosion, a stop (or holding of the position) and an explosion or release.¹ However, if no air is passing through the mouth at the moment the position is taken for a consonant, acoustically there is no implosion; and if no air is passing through the mouth at the moment the organs of speech release the position, acoustically there is no explosion.

The assuming of the position for a consonant may either precede or follow the starting of the current of air through the mouth. In the word "mother," *m* is not produced as the lips close, because no air is passing through the mouth; but in the word "jump," *m* is produced

¹ "In 'that time' ('tæt 'taim), 'red deer' ('red diə), the first *t* and *d* are not exploded; in fact, the only difference between the *tt*, *dd*, here and the *t*, *d*, in 'satire' ('satəɹə), 'red ear' (red 'eə), 'reader' ('redɪə), is that in the former case the stop is very much longer than in the latter."—Daniel Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner.

as the lips take position because voiced air is passing through the mouth until shut off by the closure of the lips. In French the position for the consonant is always taken before the current of air is set in motion, and if the consonant is in the middle or at the end of the word, or in a group of consonants, the current is arrested while the position for the consonant is being taken and then set in motion again while the position is being held and released.¹

The air current passing through the mouth may be voiced or unvoiced. To produce *s*, a voiceless air current passing through the mouth may be diminished as the tongue takes position for *s* ("final *s*") or the position for *s* may be taken by the tongue before the air current is set in motion and then the size of the air column augmented as the tongue leaves the position ("initial *s*"). To produce *z*, the mechanics are the same, but the current of air must be voiced. In case *s* is final,¹ the current may not be voiceless except just before the tongue attains the position of greatest closure; if *s* is initial, the current is voiceless during the entire closure and at the moment the tongue leaves the position of closure.

If the air current is in motion at the moment the position of closure is taken, and the expiratory effort ceases during the closure, then no sound is produced at the moment of the physiological release or explosion; but if the position is taken before the air current is set in motion, then at the moment of the release there is an (audible) explosion. This explosion is voiced for *d* in "mobbed" or in "rade" (Fr.) and voiceless for *t* in "rapt" or in "patte" (Fr.).

If the flow of the air current ceases soon after the moment of the physiological release, French ears consider the explosion just a part of the consonant, because in French every consonant is always accompanied by such an explosion voiced or unvoiced. An American ear may hear the explosion at once by observing the difference in the pronunciation of the *t*'s in "that time" (Fig. 1B) and "stopt talking" (Fig. 1A), or of the *d*'s in "did David" (no figure) and "mobbed David" (no figure). In "that," the air current is in motion at the moment the tongue takes the position of closure for *t*, and there is no explosion of air between the *t* of "that" and the *t* of "time." In "stopt," the air current having been arrested to pronounce *p*, is not

¹ *Modern Philology*, XIV, p. 93.

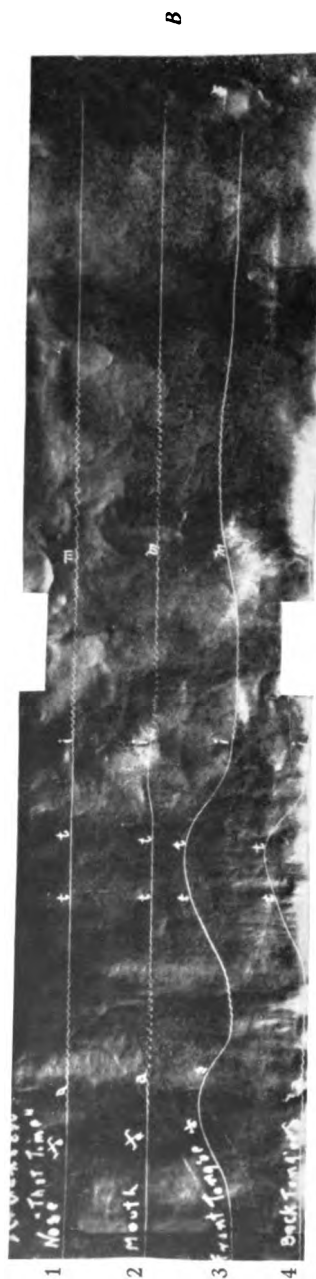
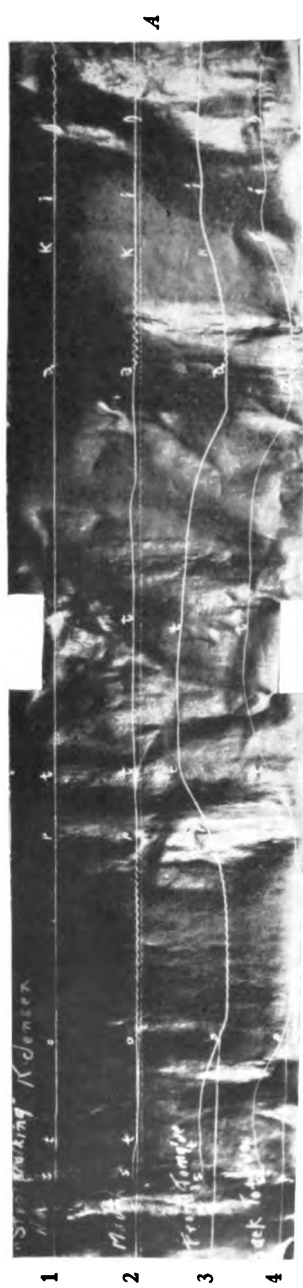


Fig. 1

in motion at the moment position is taken for *t*. After the position has been taken, an effort of the expiratory organs is made to set the air in motion again, and as the tongue leaves the position of closure an explosion (voiceless) is heard between the last *t* of "stopt" and the *t* of "talking." For the same reasons, in "did David" no explosion is heard between the last *d* of "did" and the first *d* of "David," whereas the explosion (voiced) of the *d* in "mobbed" is distinctly audible between the *d* of "mobbed" and the first *d* of "David." Note how this is shown in the kymographical experiment (No. 1) where the upper line gives the vibrations of the larynx taken through the nose; the second line, the vibrations obtained speaking into a mouthpiece; and the third and fourth lines, the upward and downward movement of the tongue. In "that time" (Fig. 1B), the time for the two *t*'s is the same as for a single *t*, whereas in "stopt talking" (Fig. 1A) the time is more than twice as long.

Though this difference of treatment of *t* and *d* and other consonants in such combinations of consonants is very marked, we are ordinarily entirely unconscious of it. In French, then, where the explosion always occurs after the consonant (and the treatment is uniform) it need excite no wonder if the explosion passes altogether unobserved. Nevertheless, if the voiced column of air flowing through the mouth continues in motion some time after the release is made, the vowel-like quality of the explosion continues long enough to be felt as a vowel, and is heard as "mute *e*." A mute *e* differs from a voiced explosion then (sometimes to a degree in the position of the lips but) largely only in duration. However, mute *e* does not differ fundamentally from a voiceless explosion. Both mute *e* and the voiceless explosion result mechanically from the release of a current of air that was partly or completely shut off, and differ only in voice and length because no distinct vowel position is taken for either, at least if we do not consider the tendency (not always present) to round the lips for mute *e*. Further, their close relationship is at once apparent when we observe that the voiceless explosion frequently becomes mute *e* when energetic, as in "Arc[ə] de Triomphe," condemned by Grammont, or in "sept[ə]," pronounced by a telephone girl. Likewise, mute *e* after voiceless consonants when unstressed tends to unvoice or be reduced to the voiceless explosion,

but contrary to the generally received opinion as expressed by Grammont and others, it does not disappear completely since none of the physiological essentials apart from voice are changed.

Figure 2A represents the pronunciation of "Arc de Triomphe" with a conscious effort to pronounce mute *e* after *c(k)*, and offers separate tongue-curves for each consonant. Figure 2B presents the same separate tongue-curves (ll. 3 and 4) though the subject for the experiment made a conscious effort to avoid any trace of mute *e*. Figure 2C offers the pronunciation without mute *e* of the second subject. The physiological movements are entirely similar whether *k* is pronounced with a voiceless explosion (Figs. 2B and 2C) or with a mute *e* (Fig. 2A).

As already seen in the case of "Arc[ə] de Triomphe" and "sept[ə]," a voiceless explosion tends to be voiced and become mute *e* when pronounced forcefully. This same influence is manifested in a different way in the case of continuants and stops. After stops the air current, having been completely arrested, is suddenly released, and the explosion, whether voiced or unvoiced, is more noticeable than after continuants. This is true because in the case of continuants the current of air already passing through the mouth is under less pressure and is simply augmented by the relative release or shift in position, and consequently the explosive element is less marked. Thus the explosion of an *f*, *s*, *S* (*ch*), or of *v*, *z*, or *ʒ* (*j*), is less marked than the explosion of *k*, *p*, *t*, or of *g*, *b*, *d*, and since during the holding of the position for *l* the air is passing freely over the sides of the tongue, and during the production of *n* or *m* or *ɲ* the air is passing freely through the nose, the explosion of the air pent up under less pressure than in the case of stops is not so audible. In the case of "*r grasseyé*" the explosion is perhaps least marked because the position of the vocal organs leaves a free passage for the air larger than for any of the consonants and indeed for any of the vowels except the most open ones. Further, the position of the lips, jaws, and front part of the tongue for "*r grasseyé*" is not far different from the position for mute *e* when pronounced with precision. Consequently, at the same time the explosion of *k* in "*avec*" (a-ve-k.) or of *t* in "*tente*" (tā-t.) is observed, the explosion of *s* in "*face*" (fa-s.) or of *v* in "*rêve*" (re-v') may escape attention.

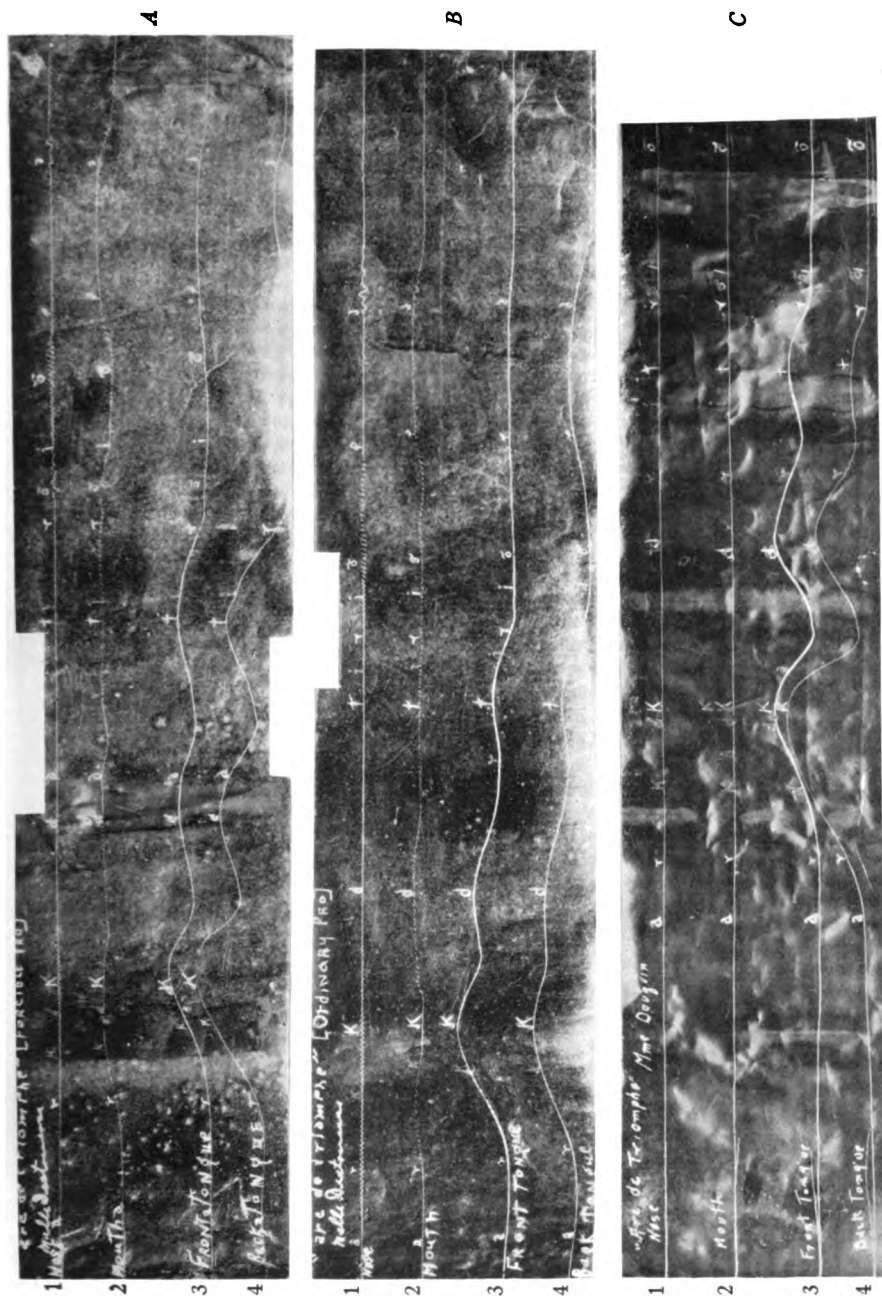


FIG. 2

Economy of movement tends to minimize the explosion. If a mute *e* is between two consonants, both of which require an elevated position of the tongue, as, for example, in the case of mute *e* preceded and followed by *t*, *d*, *s*, *n*, or *l*, or by *g* or *k*, the tongue, when the release is made, does not ordinarily sink to a neutral position, but leaves the palate only sufficiently to permit the passage of air and then resumes contact again for the second consonant. If both consonants are voiced or both voiceless, the economy of movement is greatest.¹

For *n* in "je ne sais pas," the air current which comes to rest after the mute *e* of "je" is not set in motion again until after the tongue has taken position for *n*, and may cease at or about the moment the tongue changes position for *s*. The air is under little pressure; the increased volume of air in passing from *n* to *s* is slight and the flow of this current is of brief duration. The ear may not recognize a mute *e* or even a voiced explosion. Furthermore, since *n* is a nasal consonant there may be only an imperceptible lowering of the tongue from *n* to *s*. If a conscious effort is made to pronounce a mute *e* in "ne" ("je ne sais pas," Fig. 3A) there is a distinct lowering of the tongue after *n*, and separate tongue-curves are seen for *n* and *s*. If mute *e* is carefully avoided ("je ne sais rien," Fig. 3B) there is but one curve for *n* and *s*; however, its length indicates the pronunciation of two consonants with an explosion for each (cf. Fig. 4A where *t* in "it did" is pronounced as a "final" consonant, and the Spanish "brogue" pronunciation in Fig. 4B where *t* is pronounced as an "initial" consonant). Figure 3C offers an example of a very rapid pronunciation with greater economy of movement. Because of the economy of movement practiced in such combinations, the explosion is rarely lengthened to a degree where it is felt as mute *e*.

It has been stated above that the explosion when stressed tends to lengthen and to be voiced, likewise lack of stress results in shortening of the explosion, and after unvoiced consonants prevents it from being voiced. Consequently, in a succession of syllables containing mute *e*, the accented syllables will preserve the mute *e* and the unaccented syllables will reduce mute *e* to an explosion, voiced after the voiced consonants (except when preceded immediately by a voiceless conso-

¹ *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 321-36.

nant), and unvoiced after the voiceless consonants. In the following experiment (Fig. 5), though "je ne sais pas" is pronounced with an effort to avoid mute *e* and very rapidly, the explosion (marked *ə*) though of brief duration, is apparent; the change is in degree and stress and not in essential nature as advanced by Grammont.¹

In respect to mute *e*, Grammont says: "La règle générale est qu'il se prononce seulement lorsqu'il est nécessaire pour éviter la rencontre de trois consonnes." This statement is in no sense true. As already seen (Figs. 1, 2, 3), any two consonants are always separated by an explosion (voiced or voiceless) which in every essential physiological respect is mechanically the same as mute *e*. Furthermore, there are groups of three consonants that are not separated by a voiced explosion, not to speak of an explosion of force and length justifying the term mute *e*.

In cases of *s* between two consonants cited by Grammont,² the mute *e* following *s* is reduced to a voiceless explosion, for the reasons given above (p. 274). The absence of mute *e*³ is explained by the nature of *r* (see above, p. 276). The alternations occurring in the dropping of mute *e*⁴ are caused by alternations in the stress dependent on slight changes in meaning in the mind of the speaker. In the "finales" (stop+*l* or *r*),⁵ the explosion of the consonant is not strong because of the nature of the consonants (see above, p. 276); in groups like "le reste ne," "force de," "morte que," etc.,⁶ the explosion of the consonant is always present but unvoiced; in "*nargue le spectateur*" the explosion of the *g* is voiced but of no greater force and duration than if the *r* were not present, and hence it passes unnoticed. In "stricte de," the explosion of the *t* is no stronger and no more apt to be voiced than in "patte de." In "*quelque fois*" the explosion of the *q* (*k*) is apt to be strong and voiced, because the positions of the consonants, front(*l*), back(*k*), front(*f*), permit of no great economy of movement. The presence or absence of a distinct mute *e* is dependent on the nature of the consonants: continuant or stop; voiced or unvoiced; and the economy or lack of economy of movement dependent on the relative positions in which the consonants are formed. There is no "règle des trois consonnes" that has any validity.

¹ *Traité pratique de prononciation française*, par Maurice Grammont, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 112-14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115

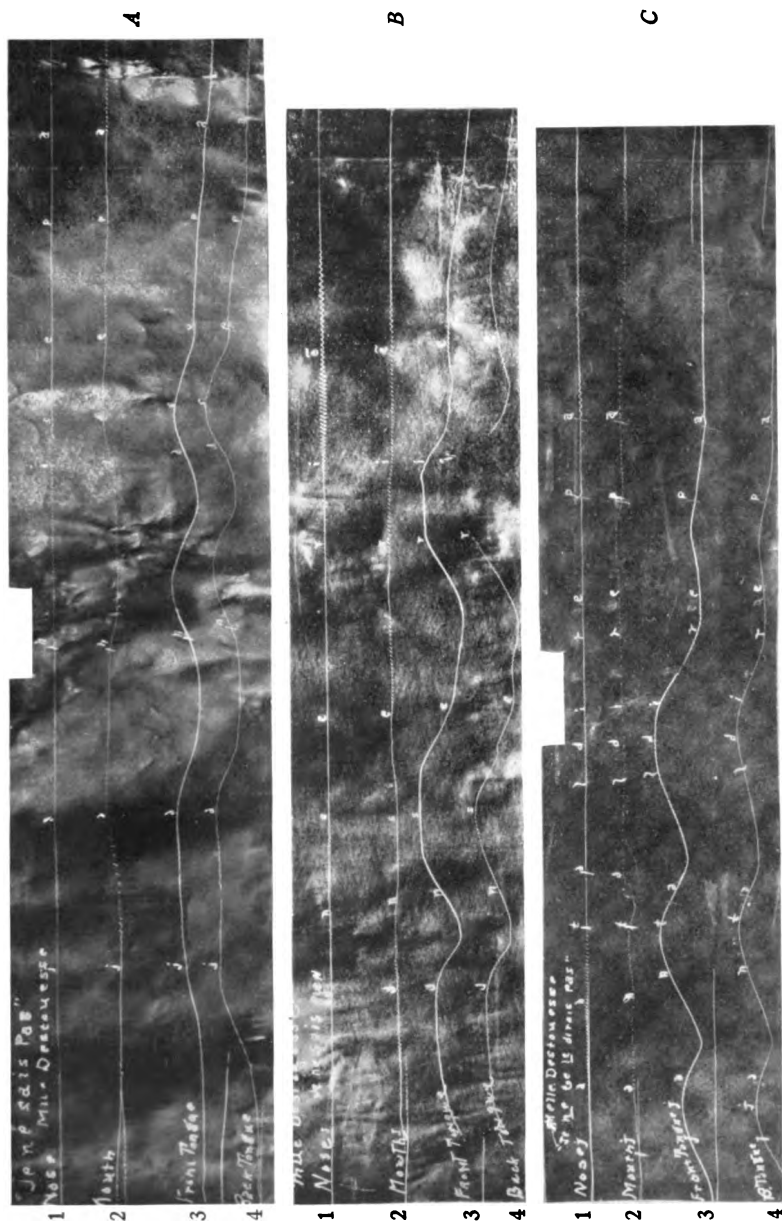


Fig. 3



FIG. 4

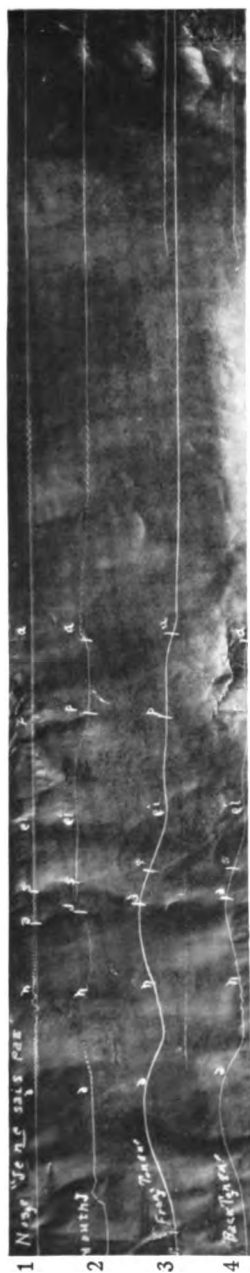


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

In sentences cited by Grammont such as "j[e] n'en sais rien,"¹ the reduction of mute *e* to a voiced explosion is explained by the absence of tonic accent and the economy of movement mentioned above. In the sentences like "que dites-vous," cited on the same page, the preservation of the mute *e* is explained by the presence of the tonic accent and the fact that the explosion is more marked after stops than after continuants for the reasons already given above. There is no need for invoking any of the special rules given by Grammont.²

In pronouncing "jump back" (Fig. 6) the air current is completely shut off as the lips close for *m*, but passes through the nose for an instant until the sudden backward and upward movement of the soft palate closes the passage to the nose; at the same time the vocal cords move apart, a voiceless air current is thrown against the lips already in position, and *p* is pronounced. Physiologically, in pronouncing *p* there is neither implosion nor explosion since the lips are in position throughout the duration of the sound, and of course there can be no supporting vowel. When an effort is again made to set the current of air in motion, *b* is pronounced. In all such combinations as *ηgk*, *ηkg*, *ηgg*, *ndn*, *ntn*, etc., as in "long career," "long gown," "soundness," etc., or, in fact, in any combination of *η+g* or *k+* any other consonant; or of *n+t* or *d+* any other consonant; or of *m+b* or *p+* any other consonant; the middle consonant has no supporting vowel and has neither implosion nor explosion. Acoustically it is implosive.

Whenever a continuant is followed in the same syllable in English by a stop, the air current used to pronounce the vowel, the continuant, and the stop is continuous. In pronouncing "last" (Fig. 7, last name) the column of air is diminished as the tongue takes position for *s* and then completely shut off as the tongue takes position for *t*. In pronouncing "Carl," the air current is in continuous motion; it is diminished as the tongue takes position for *r* and *l*. If a front stop follows, as *d* in "furled," the sides of the tongue, over which the air has been passing during the pronunciation of *l*, close up against the hard palate, and the current is completely arrested. Physiologically, this closing of the sides of the tongue against the hard palate

¹ See Grammont, *Traité pratique de prononciation française*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107-19.

is the implosion, because the point of the tongue already in position for *l* remains in the same position for *d*. In "[he] left Daniel" (Fig. 8) the current of air is diminished as the lip takes position against the upper teeth for *f* and completely arrested as the tongue takes position against the palate for *t*. The *t* in this case has no supporting vowel unless *f* is thought of as playing the rôle of a voiceless vowel. However, in accordance with the theory already stated, the *t* is possible here by completely shutting off the air current that is already reduced to small proportions. This also explains the fact that acoustically the *t* is much feebler than in "let," where the intercepted air current is much greater.

English consonants produced in this manner are pronounced with a very great economy of movement as compared with French consonants. In fact, this English movement is that described erroneously for French groups by Grammont in his chapter "Rencontres de consonnes."¹ If the point of articulation is the same for the two consonants, whether the consonant is repeated as two *d*'s, two *l*'s, etc., or whether the consonants are different, as *t*, *d*, or *l*, etc., followed by *n*, *l*, *t*, or *d*, Grammont says that for the two consonants "il n'y a qu'une implosion, une tenue, et une explosion." Experiments like those reproduced in *Modern Philology*² prove that this is not true. It will be seen that in cases of supposed shortening by the dropping of mute *e*, thus bringing two consonants together, as given by Grammont in his chapter on "*e* caduc,"³ the French groups are never shortened in the English manner. In reality, no French consonant is ever implosive, and no mute *e* ever completely disappears, but is only reduced to an explosion, voiced or voiceless, which in its essential nature is the same as mute *e*.

Theoretically, any French continuant can be pronounced without an explosion or mute *e*, though there must be an interruption of the air current after the preceding vowel and before the consonant. But an explosion, slight or pronounced, will result from the release of the position of the lips or tongue unless the pressure on the air current is relieved before this release occurs. If the shift in position is very

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96.

² "Syllable and Word Division in French and English," XIX, 321-36.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 105-19.



FIG. 7

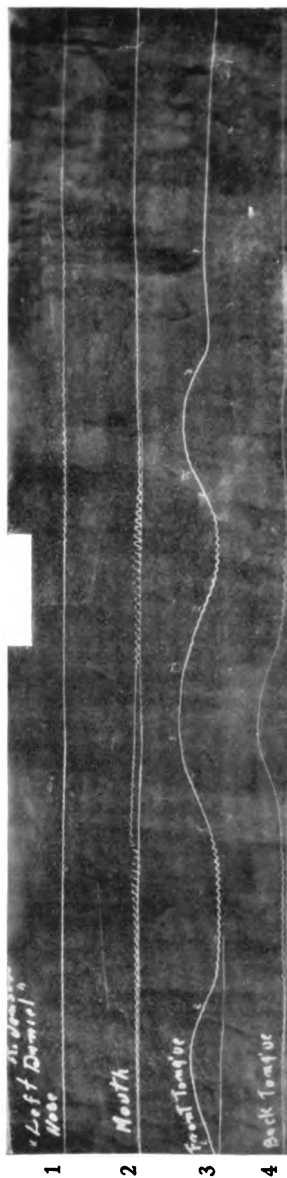


FIG. 8

slight and of short duration, the explosion may not be perceptible—at least to an untrained ear—nevertheless, it is present and in its essence is always the same as mute *e*.

In formal or elevated style, pronunciation becomes more distinct and the explosions following the consonants are lengthened and strengthened; as Grammont says: “à mesure que le ton se ralentit ou s’élève, le nombre des *e* que l’on prononce augmente, jusqu’à ce que dans une prononciation emphatique on les fasse entendre tous.”¹ The poets then are right in counting syllables containing mute *e*, since poetry in its very essence is elevated and emphatic, and the mute *e*’s will reappear when verse is properly read.

Misled by the statements of Grammont and others concerning mute *e*, instructors of French teach their American students² to persist in the habit of “gliding up” on the vowel into the consonant position. This habit is responsible for their worst faults. As an example, one need only mention here the production of “parasitic *m*” before *b* or *p*, “parasitic *n*” before *t* or *d*, and of “parasitic *ŋ*” before *g* or *k*.

English-speaking people have been thought to neglect or to pronounce mute *e*’s in an incorrect manner because they are “lacking in taste.” The pronunciation of mute *e* is not a matter of taste, but depends on an understanding of the differences in the mechanics of producing consonants in the two languages, and necessitates the creation of a new habit. Our French teachers have permitted and even taught us to glide up to the consonant preceding the mute *e*, expel the breath continuously, omit all trace of mute *e*, and crowd the consonants close together; or else have permitted us to glide up to the consonant, arrest the current of air after the consonant is pronounced and add *ə* as a detached sound. This procedure gives rise to a counterfeit of the French mute *e* which, itself, is not a separate vowel but is produced mechanically when the tongue or lips leave the position of closure for the consonant, thus suddenly and explosively augmenting the air current.

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¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

THE CASE OF PARTE XXIV DE LOPE DE VEGA, MADRID

Upon undertaking a study of a seventeenth-century made-up volume of *comedias* which is temporarily in my hands,¹ I was struck by the fact that seven of the twelve plays of which it is composed are regularly listed as having been contained also in the supposed *Parte veinte y cuatro de Lope de Vega*, generally catalogued as having been printed at Madrid in 1640. At once the question arose in my mind as to whether the present made-up volume might not have been put together, in part, from fragments or *arrachements* of a copy of the mysterious twenty-fourth *parte* of Lope's plays. The consideration of this question led me to examine carefully all the information which I could find concerning this Parte XXIV, with the result that I have come to doubt very much whether it is entitled to a place in the list of genuine Lope *partes*. While the main facts regarding this now unknown volume have been stated by Rennert in all three editions of his invaluable bibliography of Lope de Vega, the history of the case has not yet been given in full. The object of the present exposition, therefore, is to present and weigh the evidence for and against the rights of the supposed Madrid, 1640 (?), collection of twelve plays to be classed as the regular twenty-fourth volume of Lope de Vega's dramatic works.

The volume is said to have been composed of the following plays:² (1) *El palacio confuso*; (2) *El ingrato*; (3) *La tragedia por los celos*; (4) *El labrador venturoso*; (5) *La primer culpa del hombre*; (6) *La despreciada querida*; (7) *La industria contra el poder y el honor contra la fuerza*; (8) *La porfia hasta el temor*; (9) *El juez de su misma causa*; (10) *La cruz en la sepultura*; (11) *El honrado con su sangre*; (12) *El hijo sin padre*. This list is furnished to us by Nicolas Antonio in his *Bibliotheca hispana*, ... , Rome, 1672.³ It is reprinted in the second edition of this monumental work, i.e., in the *Bibliotheca hispana*

¹ The volume belongs to Dean E. B. Babcock, of New York University. A full description of it, together with an edition of several of the plays which it contains, is in preparation.

² Those which are contained also in the Babcock volume are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, 63.

nova, ... , Madrid, 1788.¹ In neither edition of Antonio's catalogue is any date given for this *parte*; and the place of publication is indicated in a special manner, in a note as follows: "Hæc Matriti edita fuit: sed & alia hoc sub titulo XXIV. partis Cæsaraugustæ lucem vidit apud Didacum Dormer 1633² has Comœdias continens. *La ley executada*, etc." (as in Schack, Rennert, etc.). Antonio makes no mention of the Parte XXIV published at Saragossa in 1641.

The next mention of a Parte XXIV distinct from the two Saragossa editions appears to be a brief reference by Dieze, in his translation of Velazquez's *Origenes de la poesia española*, to a volume of Lope's plays bearing the number "XXIV" and published, according to this German translator and annotator, at Madrid in 1638.³

Continuing in chronological order, the third work in which I find a notice of the supposed Parte XXIV is likewise a German publication, entitled *Magazin der Spanischen und Portugiesischen Literatur; herausgegeben von F. J. Bertuch*.⁴ Here the list of Lope's *partes*, with the contents of each, is reproduced from Antonio, and here, apparently for the first time, the date 1640 is assigned to the *parte* in question.

In 1806 was published Lord Holland's *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, the first important work in English to contain anything like a bibliography of Lope's dramatic compositions. In an Appendix to this essay the author, after making a statement regarding the manner of publication of Lope's plays and the great scarcity of complete sets of the *partes*, gives a list of contents of the twenty-five volumes copied directly from Antonio; in this list the Madrid Parte XXIV is mentioned without date.⁵ This material is reprinted textually in the later enlarged edition of Lord Holland's work.⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 77. The date "MDCCLXXXIII" on the title-page of Vol. I is a misprint for "MDCCLXXXVIII."

² In the re-edition of Antonio the date of this volume is given as 1632.

³ Don Luis Joseph Velazquez, *Geschichte der Spanischen Dichtkunst. Aus dem Spanischen übersezt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Johann Andreas Dieze*, Göttingen, 1769. The reference in question is found at the bottom of p. 332 in a long footnote which begins on p. 328.

⁴ Three vols., Weimar, 1780-82, according to the catalogue of the British Museum, to Kayser's *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon*, Part IV, p. 8, and to J.-J. A. Bertrand, *L. Tieck et le Théâtre espagnol* (Paris, 1914), p. 168; but the copy in the New York Public Library, having Vols. I and II bound together, is dated Dessau, 1781, 1781, 1782. See I, 351-58.

⁵ See *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.

⁶ *Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio and Guillen de Castro*, II (2 vols., London, 1817), 139-51.

Brunet, in his *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques* published in 1834,¹ affirms that there exist three distinct twenty-fourth parts of Lope de Vega's plays, and that the second of these was printed at Madrid in 1638. This notice is repeated in the fourth (Brussels) edition of the author's celebrated *Manuel*,² as well as in the fourth (Paris) edition³ and in the fifth edition,⁴ the last two, however, giving as the date of the volume in question "1638, ou 1640."

In 1835 the compiler of the *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Richard Heber, Esq.*, inserted the following statement regarding "Vol. XXIV, Çaragoça, ... , 1633" of Lope's comedias:

This is the edition mentioned by Antonio as containing 12 different plays from the Madrid edition, of which he does not mention the date; but in the British Museum there is a copy with the date of Madrid, 1640.⁵

Schack, in the Appendix to Volume II of his *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (1845), gives a list of the *partes* (*Bände*) of Lope de Vega based on Nicolas Antonio and "completed as far as possible." Without any word of comment, Schack here attaches the date 1640 to the supposed Madrid edition of Parte XXIV.

When Ticknor published, in 1849, his *History of Spanish Literature*, he inserted in a footnote on *Dineros son calidad*, contained in the Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1633, the casual remark that "there is yet a third Tom. XXIV., printed at Madrid in 1638."⁶

Chorley, in the *Catálogo de comedias* which he furnished to Hartzbusch for insertion in the fourth volume of the latter's edition of the dramatic works of Lope de Vega,⁷ listed the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, "1640," prudently indicating that his authorities for this volume were Nicolas Antonio and Schack.

La Barrera, whose indispensable *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español* was published in 1860, states, likewise on the authority of Nicolas Antonio and Schack, that a *Parte veinte y cuatro* was printed at Madrid in 1640.⁸

¹ Jacq.-Ch. Brunet, *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques, pour servir de Supplément au Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, III (3 vols., Paris, 1834), 381B.

² *Op. cit.*, IV (1839), 430B.

³ *Ibid.*, IV (1843), 578.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V (1864), 1107A.

⁵ See "Part the Seventh" of this *Catalogue*, No. 1571.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 180.

⁷ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LII (first printed in 1860). Chorley's *Catálogo* (finished in 1857) occupies pp. 535-58; cf. p. 540.

⁸ See *op. cit.*, p. 427.

In the *Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá* (1872), this Valencian bibliophile listed all of the editions of the various *partes* which he had succeeded in acquiring.¹ In regard to a Parte XXIV of Madrid he stated that he was not sure of either the title or the date, since he possessed, so he said, only a fragment of it containing the first, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth plays of the volume.

Between 1891 and 1894 most of Salvá's library, then the property of Ricardo Heredia, Count of Benahavis, was being sold at auction, and in the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia ... , Deuxième partie*,² it is stated that the set of Lope de Vega here offered for sale had twenty-seven of the twenty-eight volumes which, including *La vega del Parnaso*, make up, so this cataloguer believed, the complete collection of *comedias* of the celebrated dramatist, and that the set lacked only "la 2^e partie du tome XXIV, datée de 1633." This statement, taken in conjunction with the compiler's assertion that regularly "le tome XXIV est en trois volumes,"³ can only be interpreted as meaning that the Heredia collection included a copy of the supposed Madrid, 1640 (?), Parte XXIV.

Finally, in all three editions of Rennert's bibliography of Lope de Vega,⁴ the unknown Madrid volume is listed, on the authority of Chorley, as forming the regular twenty-fourth *parte* in the collection of the great Spanish dramatist.

Such are the principal sponsors for a Parte XXIV of Lope published at Madrid in 1638 or 1640. Most of them are bibliographers or literary historians who have had opportunities to study at first hand the complicated manner in which the first collection of Lope's dramatic works was given to the public, and their statements regarding dates, places, etc., of publication of most of the twenty-five *partes* are definite and verifiable. But in regard to the Parte XXIV in question, what they have to say is consistently incomplete, erroneous, or suggestive of uncertainty; and not one of them claims to have *seen* the volume or pretends to give us its title in full. It will be necessary,

¹ See *op. cit.*, I, 536-49; cf. especially p. 547. ² Paris, 1892; see p. 293, No. 2367.

³ It is evident that this count of 28 volumes for the complete collection leaves no room for the Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, mentioned in the lists of Dieze, Schack, Chorley, and Salvá.

⁴ Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega* (Glasgow, 1904), pp. 419-553, cf. pp. 435-36; also, "Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega," New York, Paris, 1915 (*Revue hispanique*, Vol. XXXIII), cf. pp. 31-32; Hugo A. Rennert y Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 445-530, cf. p. 454.

therefore, to examine carefully the testimony of each, scrutinizing particularly the trustworthiness of those who give no authority for their notices or assertions. In doing this we shall leave Nicolas Antonio until the last.

The first to be taken up is Dieze. This German student of Spanish literature, in the long note already referred to, defends Lope against the harsh judgment pronounced upon him by the Spanish critic whose work he is translating, discusses briefly the question of the number of plays written by Lope, and then gives what he claims is the most complete list of editions of the twenty-five *partes* yet printed. In this list he notes every one of the editions known to Antonio, and adds a fairly large number of others, among which are a Parte I, Brussels, 1611; a Parte XV, Madrid, 1620; and a Parte XIX, Madrid, 1622. The last two of these editions are not recognized by recent bibliographers; and as for a Parte I, Brussels, 1611, in spite of the fact that Dieze claims to have owned a "very neatly printed" copy of it, Professor Schevill has expressed doubt about the accuracy of this statement by Dieze who, he says, "does not appear to be reliable in matters of this kind."¹ Since we find Dieze probably in error in these three cases, we may also hesitate to accept on his authority the date of 1638 which he put down as that of the regular twenty-fourth *parte*, by which he probably meant the volume mentioned without date by Antonio. One is tempted to suspect either that the date 1638 in Dieze's list is due to a mechanical repetition, perhaps by the printer, of the last figure noted, namely, the date of Parte XXIII, or that the author himself, arbitrarily choosing a sort of middle point, 1637, between the other two editions, 1633 and 1641, of this *parte* known to him, set the figure ahead to 1638 in order to keep Partes XXIII and XXIV in chronological sequence.

Bertuch is less pretentious than Dieze in his listing of the editions of Lope's *partes*. After announcing that he is going to give as complete a list of Lope's printed works as he is able to furnish, he proceeds to copy from Antonio;² and for each of the first twenty-three *partes*,

¹ "On the Bibliography of the Spanish Drama," in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIII (1907), 321-37; cf. p. 336. It is quite likely that the octavo *Primera parte* which Dieze possessed was the one printed at Antwerp in 1607, to which, as Brunet states in his *Manuel*, the *Segunda parte* printed at Brussels in 1611 was usually joined.

² Bertuch's words (*op. cit.*, p. 351) are: "Folgende Stücke sind, nach Antonio, drinn enthalten."

as well as for Parte XXV, he gives but one date, that is, the first or the only date mentioned by Antonio.¹ Like Antonio, he fails to note the 1630 Parte XXII and the 1641 Parte XXIV, both of which were known to his compatriot Dieze. Such servile copying from a single source and from a work over a hundred years old evinces little curiosity in matters of accurate bibliography and arouses the suspicion, which is almost a certitude, that the editor of the *Magasin* had no first-hand knowledge of the collection of Lope's *partes*. What likelihood is there, then, that his assignment of the date 1640 to the Parte XXIV mentioned by Antonio without date is based on actual acquaintance with this particular volume, or on anything except the fact that 1640 is a convenient figure for an approximate date?

The two German critics whom we have just examined lived in towns less than 70 miles apart—Göttingen and Weimar—and published their respective works mentioning the Parte XXIV at an interval of twelve years—1769–81.² Let us suppose, for a moment, that each of them had access to a Parte XXIV bearing the date which he assigns to it: it is then necessary to conclude that two copies of this volume, with different title-pages if not with different contents, have disappeared from this region since that time, leaving no trace. This is, of course, possible, but does not seem probable in view of the great interest which was manifested in the Spanish drama by German writers of the next few decades. Does not the disagreement between Dieze and Bertuch regarding the date of the volume in question tend to show, therefore, that each was merely guessing at it?

We now pass over to England to examine our next reference to the supposed Parte XXIV, namely, in Lord Holland's book on Lope de Vega, published in 1806. Here again, as we have already stated, we have to do with a mere copy from Antonio; hence the testimony is of no value, especially since no date for the volume in which we are particularly interested is affixed by the author either here or in the

¹ "Valencia 1699" for the first *parte* is an evident error for "Valencia 1609." Professor Schevill (*loc. cit.*) has called attention to Dieze's misinterpretation of Antonio's words regarding the early Valencian edition of this *parte*; Bertuch seems to have made the same mistake.

² Whether they were personally acquainted with each other or not, I do not know. In any case, Bertuch, in the Preface to his *Magasin*, praises the work of Dieze, and the latter was still living in Göttingen during the years in which the short-lived *Magasin* was published.

later edition of his essay, in spite of the fact that he is reputed to have owned a complete set of Lope's *partes*.¹

Brunet, who devotes two fairly long paragraphs, in his *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques* and all subsequent editions of the *Manuel*, to a discussion of the manner in which the volumes containing Lope de Vega's dramatic works were published and of their rareness and value *en librairie*, mentions Velazquez's *Origenes de la poesia española* as a "morceau curieux," and calls attention to the German translation by Dieze.² In order to be able to qualify the book in this way he must have examined it with considerable care, and hence obtained some information from it. As a matter of fact, practically every detail of the statements made by Brunet in the first paragraph of his remarks on the printed collection of Lope's plays can be traced to Velazquez and Dieze, chiefly the latter.³ Moreover, Brunet's count of twenty-seven distinct volumes in the twenty-five *partes* instead of twenty-eight is apparently due to Dieze's failure to note that the two editions of Parte XXII are different in content. If in his second paragraph Brunet corrects, to a certain extent, Dieze's statements regarding the various issues of the *Primera parte*, it is probably because he had many opportunities to observe for himself that this volume of plays had been frequently reprinted.

Brunet's assertion that the second of the three Partes XXIV was printed at Madrid in 1638 appears to be merely one of the details which he copied from Dieze. His addition of "ou 1640" to this date in the fourth (Paris) and fifth editions of the *Manuel* is explained by the fact that in the meantime he had become acquainted with the catalogue of the Heber library, as is shown by his inclusion, in these last two editions, of a few remarks about this English bibliophile's

¹ According to Gayangos, who, in the "Notas y adiciones" to his translation of Ticknor (II, 316), mentions it as one of seven copies of the *Coleccion de comedias de Lope* which he implies were complete. But Gayangos' accuracy on this point may be questioned, since among these seven copies is the one which belonged to Tieck, and this, at least at the time of its sale, lacked Vols. VII, VIII, and XVI, not to mention the two earlier twenty-fourth *partes* listed by Antonio.

² *Nouvelles recherches bibliographiques*, III, 384A.

³ The fact that Antonio's first name is abbreviated to "Nic." by both Dieze and Brunet is almost sufficient proof that the latter copied from the former. Incidentally, Brunet states that the number of Lope's plays at the time of his death, according to Montalván, was 1,080; evidently we have here a printer's mistake for "1,800," which, as is well known, is the figure furnished by Montalván. The error has remained in all of the last three editions of Brunet's *Manuel*.

famous collection of Lope de Vega *partes*; and his mention of an alternative date only makes it more evident that he did not *know* the volume.

It is not until more than fifty years after the publication of the last volume of Bertuch's *Magazin* that we again find the date 1640 assigned to our supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, namely, in 1835, in the seventh part of the catalogue of the Heber collection. The compiler of this catalogue manifests no acquaintance with Bertuch's work. He mentions the *parte* which we are discussing by way of explaining that the corresponding volume used in making up the Heber set of Lope de Vega's dramatic works was the one published in Saragossa in 1633;¹ but his note is significant in that in it he affirms that there was at that time in the British Museum a copy, dated 1640, of the edition mentioned by Nicolas Antonio without date.

Is this statement true? No one has left, so far as I am aware, a positive record of having seen it there. The two printed catalogues of the museum's library then in existence do not give us any details about the volumes composing the sets of Lope de Vega which the museum then owned.² But if some such volume really was there in 1835, it must have disappeared soon after that date, for Chorley, who settled in London shortly after October, 1838,³ and probably was not long in becoming acquainted with the museum's collection of works of the Spanish dramatists, never saw it, or at least never saw it entire; and in 1845 Schack maintained that the museum's collection of Lope de Vega, complete in twenty-five volumes, did not include, however, "the parts which appeared under the same number with different contents,"⁴ by which it is hardly reasonable to suppose that he meant to affirm that the museum's set was made up with the "rare" Parte XXIV of 1640 (?) to the exclusion of the common twenty-fourth *partes* of 1632-33 and 1641.

On what could the bookseller who was disposing of the rich Heber collection, or his employee, have based his assertion that such a volume existed in the British Museum? It does not seem probable

¹ He lists the Saragossa edition of 1641 by Pedro Verges as an "additional volume."

² See "Vega (Lopez)" in *Librorum ... qui in Museo brit ... catalogus*, Vol. II (2 vols., London, 1787), and "Vega Carpio (Lope Felix de)," *ibid.*, Vol. VII (7 vols., London, 1813-19).

³ Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 550.

⁴ *Geschichte*, etc., II, 209 n.

that he would take the trouble to go to the museum to look the matter up.¹ In any case, the source of all that he has to say (except the date 1640) regarding the collection of Lope's plays can be found either in Lord Holland's book or in Heber's own manuscript observations noted in the volumes themselves or attached to them. One of these manuscript passages is quoted by the compiler of the catalogue in a triple-starred note on the whole collection of Lope's *partes* here offered for sale, and is as follows:

I know of *no complete set* of the twenty-five volumes of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega in England, except that in the British Museum, which is far from being in satisfactory condition, several of the volumes being rotten, and nearly all the title-pages fictitious. In fact, I never saw a perfect set, though I was told of one at Paris in the hands of a private individual, etc.

On the authority of the first sentence of this note of Heber's and with Lord Holland's list of *partes* before him, the compiler of the Heber catalogue could have felt convinced that the British Museum possessed a copy of the Parte XXIV listed by Nicolas Antonio as of Madrid. But what about the date 1640 which he says the museum's copy bore? If he did not arbitrarily assign this date himself (a round number, so to speak, and yet representing a date early enough to precede the *parte perfecta* of 1641), it is possible that he found it in some manuscript note by Heber, who in turn may have seen it on one of the fictitious title-pages (afterward removed by Chorley?) of which he speaks in the passage quoted above.

The last bibliographer who mentions the supposed Parte XXIV as of Madrid, 1640, without giving any hint as to his authority for the date, and yet to whom subsequent bibliographers refer as an authority for the existence of the volume, is Schack. Like Antonio, he lists it as the regular twenty-fourth *parte*.

It is evident from his frequent references to Lope's dedications, prologues, etc., as well as from the choice of Lope plays which he

¹ That he was not in the habit of checking up his information may be gathered from the fact that he repeats almost word for word the following statement of Lord Holland (*op. cit.* [1st ed.], p. 235; II [2d ed.], 140): "N. Antonio, who wrote in 1684, gives the contents of twenty-five volumes," etc. The fact is that Antonio died in 1684, and although he may still have been at work during a part of that year on the *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (not published until 1696), his original *Bibliotheca hispana* containing his list of the twenty-five *partes* of Lope de Vega had been out for twelve years. This error of Lord Holland's, by the way, is only one of a number of inaccuracies which the passage in question contains.

studies or mentions,¹ that Schack worked with a practically complete set of Lope's *partes* at his disposal. That he considered the unknown Parte XXIV of "1640" to be a genuine Lope volume is clear from the fact that he mentions (II, 209) as containing *also* plays by other authors only the third and fifth *partes*. Schack's omission, therefore, of any special comment on the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid other than the usual remark that there are several volumes bearing this number leaves the impression that he used it as he used the others, and that it was in this volume that he read the only two of its plays which he mentions in his text out of the twelve which he lists in his Appendix, these two being *La creacion del mundo y primera culpa del hombre* and *El palacio confuso*.

Both of these plays, however, were also printed in various other editions, some of which, it is reasonable to suppose, must have been accessible to Schack. *La creacion del mundo*, besides being contained in the rare collection of *Comedias nuevas de los mas célebres autores, y realzados ingenios de España* published at Amsterdam in 1726,² is known to us in two seventeenth-century *sueltas*,³ in at least five distinct *sueltas* of the eighteenth century, and in one printed as late as 1808.⁴ The second play, *El palacio confuso*, could be read by Schack either in the Parte XXVIII *escogidas*, 1667, or in the *suelta* which is now in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich,⁵ or perhaps even in the *suelta*, then belonging to his friend Agustín Durán but now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, which he mentions in his *Nachträge* published in 1854.⁶ To be sure, in all of these three impressions of *El Palacio confuso* the play is attributed to Mira de Mescua, and

¹ In that part of his history of the Spanish drama dealing especially with Lope de Vega (II, 152-416) he mentions 183 plays. Of these, 151 are found in the *partes* (exclusive of Partes III and V and the supposed Parte XXIV of "1640"), that is, an average of more than six per *parte*; of the remaining 32, 2 are found in the irregular Parte III, 2 in the supposed Parte XXIV of "1640," 3 in *La vega del Parnaso*, 1 in the *Laurel de Apolo*, 5 in the *diferentes* (*varios*) and *escogidas* collections, 9 in easily accessible manuscripts and *sueltas*, 1 (*El nuevo Pitagoras*) seems to have been known to Schack only in a French version, and 9 are mentioned in a way which seems to indicate that he knew them only by title.

² See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 711B.

³ One in the British Museum and one in Parma; they may be identical.

⁴ See the catalogue of the British Museum. Ticknor (*History, etc.*, II [1st ed.], 221n.), discussing Lope's productions of this type, observes that this "is one of a very few of his religious plays that have been occasionally reprinted."

⁵ ⁴ P.o. hisp. 52; see Stiefel in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV (1891), 218.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

Schack does not seem to have been familiar with the only edition which, so far as we are aware, credits it to Lope de Vega, namely, *Parte XXVIII de varios*, Huesca, 1634.¹ Why, then, does Schack affirm so unhesitatingly that the play is Lope's?² Probably because he accepted Antonio as a reliable authority for a genuine Lope de Vega Parte XXIV containing the play, supported, possibly, by the opinion of Durán, who may well have seen the play under Lope's name in *Parte XXVIII de varios*.

Schack's acquaintance with these two plays is, therefore, no proof that he actually consulted the Parte XXIV of Madrid mentioned by Antonio. Moreover, it does not seem probable that, if he had had access to the volume, he would have failed to notice, and to note, that *La industria contra el poder* and *La cruz en la sepultura* are plays which are more commonly known, as we know from other editions, under other titles; and it is quite likely, also, that he would have had something to say about some of the other eight plays contained in the volume.

As for the date 1640 assigned by Schack to this supposed *parte*, this appears to be one of the instances in which, as he himself tells us at the outset, his list has been "completed as far as possible." We have seen that there are at least three sources from which he could have copied this date, namely, Bertuch's *Magazin*, the seventh part of the Heber catalogue, and the recently published fourth (Paris) edition of Brunet's *Manuel*.³

Ticknor, whose only statement relating directly to the present problem is the casual remark already quoted, did not make any special study of the entire collection of Lope's *partes*, or even list them as Schack had done, although he succeeded in collecting about a dozen

¹ Schack's lack of acquaintance with this volume is shown not only by the absence of any mention by him of seven of the plays by Lope and others which it contains, but also by the fact that he does not seem to have known that two of the other five, *La industria contra el poder* and *La cruz en la sepultura*, are none others than Calderón's *Amor, honor y poder* and *La devoción de la Cruz*, respectively, since he affirms (III, 287-88) that the former of these was first printed in 1637 and the latter in 1635. The three plays with which, under the titles given to them in this *Parte XXVIII de varios*, he shows some familiarity are *El Palacio confuso*, *Un castigo en tres venganzas* (Calderón), and *El Príncipe Don Carlos* (Ximénez de Enciso), all of which are available also in other collections or in *sueltas*.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 186 n. and 369; also *Nachträge*, p. 44.

³ None of these last three publications, however, so far as I can see, is mentioned by Schack in his work.

of them,¹ realizing, however, the practical impossibility of getting together a complete set.² In the footnote in which he speaks briefly of the various twenty-fourth *partes* he tells us that he *had* a copy of the one printed at Saragossa in 1641; he shows that he *knew of*, but *had not seen*, the one printed in the same city in 1632;³ but his statement that "there is yet a third Tom. XXIV., printed at Madrid in 1638" is not substantiated in any way, and has every appearance of being made on someone else's authority.⁴ In view of the high esteem which Ticknor expressed for Dieze's translation and annotation of Velazquez's *Origenes*,⁵ it is very probable that it was from this German work that he took the date 1638—a date which he neither changed nor questioned after seeing the recently published history of the Spanish drama by Schack,⁶ nor after seeing, as we learn from one of the notes left by him and printed as a footnote in the posthumous fourth edition of his history, the bibliography prepared by Chorley and published in the fourth volume of Hartzenbusch's edition of Lope de Vega's comedias.⁷

Chorley's mention of Parte XXIV, Madrid, "1640," in his *Catálogo de comedias, etc.*, is accompanied by the annotation: "(N. Antonio y Schack)"; consequently his testimony is of no value. Moreover, a certain amount of skepticism on the part of Chorley in regard to this now unknown volume is reflected in one paragraph of the observations which he prefixed to a *suelta* of *El Ingrato* in the British Museum.⁸ He says:

No quiero omitir *aunque de poco momento*,⁹ la noticia de un apunte M.S.

¹ See James Lyman Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library . . . Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1879), p. 390.

² See his *History, etc.*, II (1st ed.), 177.

³ "I know of this play, 'Dineros son Calidad,' only among the Comedias Seltas of Lope; but it is no doubt his, as it is in Tom. XXIV. printed at Zaragoza in 1632, etc."

⁴ A confusing of these various twenty-fourth *partes* by Ticknor appears in a footnote on p. 221 of his *History* (1st ed.), where *La Creacion del Mundo* is said to be found "in the twenty-fourth volume of the Comedias of Lope, Madrid [*sic*], 1632 [*sic*]." This error was not corrected in any of the subsequent editions, nor in the French and Spanish translations.

⁵ See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, III, 252 n. or the *Catalogue of the Ticknor Collection*, p. 396.

⁶ See Ticknor, *op. cit.*, II, 451 n.

⁷ See *ibid.*, II (4th ed.), 240 n.

⁸ This *suelta*, attributing the play to Calderón, now forms part of a volume (11728.h.4.) having a modern title-page as follows: "Coleccion de Comedias Seltas, con algunos Autos y Entremeses, de los mejores Ingenios de España, desde Lope de Vega hasta Comella, hecha y ordenada por I. R. C. Tomo I (*Pte 4a*) Lope Felix de Vega Carpio." ("I. R. C." is, of course, Chorley.)

⁹ The italics are mine.

que hallé escrito por no sé quien sobre el carton que servia de emboltorio al presente exemplar: "De Lope: en su Parte XXIV. Impressa en *Madrid* por *Maria de Quiñones*."¹—advirtiendo que *N. Antonio*, que señaló los impresores de las demas Partes, no lo hizo con la XXIV: de Madrid.

Evidently he considered this indication to be erroneous, or at least doubtful. Furthermore, Chorley points out, as others had done before him, that three of the plays listed as being contained in the supposed Madrid Parte XXIV are not Lope's,² and expresses doubt about a fourth, *La tragedia por los celos*, thus showing that he was well aware that the volume which he included in his catalogue on the authority of Antonio and Schack was not a genuine Lope *parte*.³

La Barrera, in his *Catálogo*, likewise adds: "segun don N. Antonio y Schack" in mentioning the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid, "1640."⁴ He might perhaps better have said: "segun Chorley," for it is well known that the latter's *Catálogo* had been submitted to La Barrera by Hartzenbusch for "corrections and additions" before it was accepted by this Spanish editor for use as a sort of appendix to the fourth volume of his edition of selected *comedias* of Lope de Vega; and, indeed, La Barrera, in another passage,⁵ loyally expresses his indebtedness to Chorley's "precioso trabajo." In copying thus from Chorley, La Barrera really affirms nothing in regard to the supposed Madrid Parte XXIV. On the contrary, it seems as if, while he was writing his *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*,⁶ he must have felt very doubtful as to there ever having existed such a *parte*, since in chapter xviii, devoted to notices of various posthumous volumes of Lope containing chiefly dramatic works, he does not list, or even mention, a Parte XXIV of Madrid.⁷

¹ *Maria de Quiñones* printed Parte XXIII. Was the unknown author of this manuscript note confusing the twenty-third and twenty-fourth partes?

² *La despreciada querida*, *La industria contra el poder*, and *La Cruz en la sepultura*.

³ See his remarks on each of these four plays in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LII, 554 and 556.

⁴ P. 427A. Cf. also (p. 448B): "Dan noticia de él don Nicolás Antonio, insertando la lista de sus comedias, sin dar mas pormenores bibliográficos."

⁵ *Catálogo*, p. 422B.

⁶ This work was finished by La Barrera in 1864, and was published in 1890 by the Royal Spanish Academy as the first volume of that body's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

⁷ But he does mention it incidentally (*op. cit.*, pp. 461-62), calling it "rarísima," in connection with his notice of *Parte XXVIII de varios*, Huesca, 1634.

Salvá's claim that he possessed a fragment of the "Parte veynte y quatro (Madrid, 1640?)" would appear, at first glance, to be conclusive evidence that the volume had really once been in existence.¹ Fortunately, he has left us enough details about the fragment to enable us to examine it to a certain extent.

Salvá informs us that his fragment was without title-page or other preliminaries, had 132 folios, and was composed of the following comedias: (1) *La despreciada querida*; (2) *La industria contra el poder, etc.*; (3) *El labrador venturoso*; (4) *El palacio confuso*; (5) *La porfía hasta el temor*; (6) *El juez de su causa*. It is probable that the titles as here listed are in the same order as were the corresponding plays which composed the fragment—an order quite different, as others have already noted, from that in which the same titles appear in Antonio's list of contents of the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid. Furthermore, from Salvá's statement that his fragment "goes only as far as fol. 132" it may be safely inferred that its folios were numbered consecutively from 1 to 132. Finally, it should be noticed that the title of the last play of the fragment is: *El juez de su causa*, not, as in Antonio's list, *El juez de su misma causa*, nor, as in Parte XXV of Lope, *El juez en su causa*.

If, now, we turn to *Parte veynte y ocho de comedias de varios autores*, Huesca, 1634 (a volume with which Salvá appears not to have been familiar), we find that (1) the first six plays of this collection are the same as those of Salvá's fragment, and in the same order;² (2) these same six plays occupy the first 132 folios of the volume; (3) the exact title of the sixth play is *El juez de su causa*, as in the Salvá fragment. Hence it is quite certain that the small collection of six plays without title-page which Salvá believed to be a fragment of the

¹ The importance which he attached to this fragment can be judged from his words (*Catálogo*, I, 547A): "Ciertamente no daría el trozo que poseo por dos de las otras, aun cuando fueran de las más difíciles de encontrar. Ignoro se halle en ninguna biblioteca, ni he hablado con nadie que la haya visto." It was probably largely the possession of this fragment which led him to say (p. 549B), in speaking of his entire collection of Lope's *partes*, etc.: "puedo vanagloriarme de que es la [serie] que mayor número de volúmenes y ediciones diversas reúne, y la más bella y bien tratada de cuantas he visto, etc."

² Hartzenbusch, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XIV, 654; Münch-Bellinghause, *Über die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen*, p. 122 (the notice is copied from Hartzenbusch); and La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 684, have interchanged the second and third titles in their lists of contents of this volume.

supposed Madrid Parte XXIV of Lope was, in reality, the first half of *Parte XXVIII de varios*.¹

In the catalogue of the library of Ricardo Heredia confusion reigns in regard to just what composed the set of Lope here offered for sale. The cataloguer's first remarks on the subject are general, informing the prospective bidder, among other things, that the collection to which he gives the title: "*Las comedias del famoso poeta Lope de Vega Carpio*, etc. ... , 26 tomes en 28 vol.," comprises 332 plays, that the twenty-fourth tome is in three volumes, and that the twenty-eighth volume is *La vega del Parnaso*. He then proceeds to inform the reader specifically that the copy of this work in Heredia's library came from the Salvá collection, that it included also *La vega del Parnaso*,² but that it contained only twenty-seven volumes, "the second part of *tome XXIV*, dated 1633, being missing."³

It is obvious, both from the wording of the sentence and from the mention of the figure "332," that the cataloguer's source for his general remarks is Brunet, who, as we have already seen, did not take into account the fact that there are two distinct twenty-second *partes*. If Brunet had known the facts about the twenty-second *parte*, he would have counted twenty-nine volumes instead of twenty-eight (and, consequently, 344 plays instead of 332). Again, if we examine the list of Lope volumes in the catalogue of Salvá, who did note the two distinct twenty-second *partes*, and count up, including what he took to be a fragment of the Parte XXIV of Madrid, all the different *partes* which he mentions and add to them *La vega del Parnaso*, we shall also get a total of twenty-nine. Therefore, since at the time of the Heredia sale only twenty-seven volumes of Salvá's collection remained, there

¹ One is tempted to suspect that the volume was deliberately cut up by some unscrupulous person in order that the fragment, under false pretenses, might be sold to Salvá, whose efforts to gather a complete set of Lope's *partes*, "*viajando mucho y gastando sobre 600 pesos fuertes*" (*op. cit.*, p. 549), were probably well known among booksellers. On the other hand, of course, it is possible that the fragment owed its preservation to the zeal of some collector of Lope's plays who detached the remainder of the volume from the collection, having noticed that the next five plays were not by Lope, and knowing also that the last play of the volume, *La cruz en la sepultura*, although here attributed to Lope, was in reality not his.

² He designates this work as one of the volumes forming the collection, not by title, but by the number, "1470," under which it is listed in Salvá's catalogue.

³ How, or why, this relatively common volume should have disappeared from the Salvá set is not explained to us.

are *two* volumes to be accounted for, and not merely the one noted by Heredia's cataloguer.

The latter is excusable, as he was probably misled by Brunet's statement to the effect that the complete set is composed of twenty-eight volumes. To account for the missing twenty-ninth volume, there are three possibilities: (1) the 1630 Parte XXII, although listed by Salvá, had been rejected as spurious because it antedated Parte XXI, or because it was not recognized by Brunet; (2) one of the "regular" *partes*, or possibly the Parte XXIV of 1641, had become lost, unnoticed by the cataloguer; (3) neither the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid nor the fragment which Salvá believed to be a part of it was in the set—an omission which the cataloguer would not have noticed after once discovering that the 1633 *parte* was missing, since his count of volumes now appeared complete. This last hypothesis offers the most probable explanation.

Perhaps, after all, there is an error in the Heredia catalogue compiler's words: "la 2^e partie du tome XXIV, datée de 1633, manque." Why does he call this 1633 volume "la 2^e partie"? True, in Salvá's catalogue it is mentioned second of the three supposed *partes* numbered "XXIV"; this fact, together with Salvá's note to the effect that the 1633 volume is, "according to Barrera y Leirado," the second *edition* (having been first printed in 1632), may have caused Heredia's cataloguer some confusion. On the other hand, in Brunet's *Manuel* it is the volume supposed to have been printed at Madrid "en 1638, ou 1640" that is referred to as "la seconde [partie]." It is possible that it was this latter volume that Heredia's cataloguer wished to indicate as missing, and that in his hasty reading of Brunet he copied the date of "la première, imprimée à Saragosse, en 1633."¹

Practically all of Rennert's statements which pertain to the subject in hand and which furnished the clue to many of the sources investigated for the preparation of the present exposition have been touched upon in the course of our examination of his predecessors in

¹ If this be the true solution, it being assumed, of course, that the catalogue-maker, instead of merely copying the figures from Brunet, really counted the volumes that he had and found only 27, it is necessary to suppose that some other complete *parte* had disappeared also, possibly Parte XVI, which is relatively rare, missing in several important collections. Incidentally, I am informed by M. Foulché-Delbosc, who refers to a manuscript note in his copy of the Heredia catalogue, that this set was sold for 439 francs to a Parisian bookseller named Lortic. The latter, according to information furnished to me by a member of an old Paris firm, attempted to establish a *librairie de luxe*, but did not succeed; his stock was taken over by several Paris booksellers, but I have been unable to find out what became of the Salvá collection of Lope de Vega.

the field of Lope de Vega bibliography. They repose, for the most part, upon the authority of Nicolas Antonio, Schack, and Salvá, and present nothing new except a further complication in the matter of the date of the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid. This is found in Appendix B of Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega*,¹ where the author mentions, as one of the posthumous works of Lope, a Parte XXIV, "Madrid, 1624, according to Nicolas Antonio," with contents identical with those of the doubtful edition of 1640.² I have not been able to find any reference to the date 1624 in connection with a Parte XXIV of Lope anywhere in Antonio's *Bibliotheca hispana*, nor in its eighteenth-century re-edition. Possibly, then, the real source of the notice of this almost impossible date is a sentence of Menéndez y Pelayo's which says,³ in connection with the discussion of the authorship of *La creacion del mundo*, that apparently this play "se imprimió por primera vez en una Parte 24^a, de Madrid, 1624, citada por Nicolás Antonio y por Schack sin más indicación bibliográfica que los títulos de las piezas." The date 1624 in this passage is plainly a misprint, the last half of the figure being merely an unconscious repetition of the number of the *parte* itself by either Menéndez y Pelayo or his printer.

Finding no positive, or at least thoroughly reliable, evidence for a Madrid Parte XXIV of Lope in the references to it which have been made in the last one hundred and fifty-odd years, it is now time to revert to Nicolas Antonio, to whom, as we have seen, almost all of the others who have touched upon this question refer directly or indirectly.⁴ There is no reason for believing, as we have felt justified in doing in the case of all the others, that this great seventeenth-century Spanish bibliographer did not have a first-hand acquaintance with the collection of twelve plays which he listed as Lope's Parte XXIV, printed at Madrid; in all probability he copied directly from the volume itself the titles of *comedias* which he gives as being con-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 410; cf. especially the last paragraph of the footnote on this *parte*, p. 411.

² The notice of this 1624 edition, together with most of the footnote, is adopted in Castro's translation of Rennert's biography, p. 400. There seems to be no reference to this date, however, in any of the three forms in which Rennert's bibliography proper has been published.

³ Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, III, xxvi.

⁴ Only Ticknor and the compiler of the Heredia catalogue fail to mention Nicolas Antonio specifically in the passages from them commented upon in the course of the present investigation.

tained in it. All we can do, therefore, is to examine Antonio's general treatment of dramatic literature and the special circumstances attendant upon his inclusion of this now unknown volume in his catalogue of Lope's *partes*, with a view to forming an opinion as to whether or not he was right in so listing it.

Generally speaking, Antonio manifests only a minor interest in those literary men of the Golden Age whose fame now rests chiefly on their dramatic output, as compared, for example, with authors of religious treatises. In this respect he was not unlike the majority of critics of his time; the *comedia* had not yet come to be considered an important *genre* in literature. Hence he devotes but little space to even the more prominent of the dramatists who were Lope's contemporaries or belonged to the school which he founded; and in his brief remarks can be detected, at times, something approaching an attitude of indifference or scorn,¹ at other times a tone of apology for mentioning the author,² while in no case does he offer a full list of titles of *comedias* of a given author, or, apparently, even make a pretense at accuracy or completeness in the matter of the *partes* of those of Lope's emulators whose individual printed collections had reached several volumes.³

In the case of Lope, however, all is different. Here was a man who, even without his prodigious dramatic contribution, ranked high in the literary annals of his country. Probably no man of letters in Spain had been so celebrated during his own lifetime as Lope; and Nicolas Antonio, who was a young man of eighteen at the time of Lope's death, must have recalled quite vividly, while at work on his *Bibliotheca* some thirty-five years later, the fame which the great poet had enjoyed during the last few years of his life. Prone as the bibliographer was to snub the *comedia* more or less, he could not, however, overlook a dramatic output so vast as that of Lope, especially since an important part of it was accessible to the reading public in a

¹ Of Mira de Mescua he says: "Comœdiæ ejus ... quarum nec numerum nec titulos memoria teneo." To Hurtado de Mendoza he accords a dubious praise in the words: "*Comedias* septem octove, quæ propter egregias suas dotes in exemplar *similium compositionum* adduci solent." (The last italics are mine.) Cf. also his "quod sciam" (= "que yo sepa") in connection with the little that he has taken the trouble to find out concerning the publication of the *Primera parte* of his contemporary, Matos Frago.

² Cf., in his brief notice of Calderón, "Poetæ injurius sim celebratissimo si non statim ... remiserim curiosos comœdiæ Hispanæ observatores ad: *Comædiarum* aliquot volumina, etc."

³ Of Tirso de Molina's five *partes* he mentions only three, the first two without dates; of Calderón, he casually notes that he has seen the third *parte*, Madrid, 1664.

series of *partes* five times as large as that of the rival who came nearest to him from the point of view of similar volumes published.¹ And so Antonio, after a generous eulogy of the "prodigy of nature," saw fit to include in his bibliography, quite by exception, a long list of Lope's *comedias*, volume by volume throughout the entire set of twenty-five *partes*.

This catalogue of Lope's *partes*, with places and dates of publication, appears, when checked up with the results of recent researches, to be accurate in most of its details, so far as it goes. His statement in a sort of prefatory note that "all [of the twenty-five volumes] were first published at Madrid, and then in other places,"² sounds very much like a generalization a priori, inspired by a regard for uniformity; but Partes I and XXV stand in his list as exceptions to the rule.³ Of the dates which he gives, only one seems to be seriously questioned now, namely, that of the supposititious Parte V. His omission of any mention of the Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, may not be due to lack of acquaintance with the volume, but rather to the fact that, on account of its date, it was easily recognizable as spurious. There seems to be no explanation of this failure to mention the Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1641, since this volume is still relatively common, unless it be that the words of the title-page, "no adulteradas como las que hasta aqui han salido," made him wary, leading him to the conclusion that this was not a genuine volume of Lope's collection either.

At all events, the impression is gained that Antonio, who was so indifferent about the other dramatists, nevertheless exercised careful judgment in noting down Lope's *partes*, striving to make the collection seem nearly perfect; he seems to have wished to make it appear that all the volumes came originally from Madrid presses and in chronological order, save in the case of Parte XVI, which, as is

¹ Namely, Tirso de Molina. In 1672, date of the first edition of Antonio's *Bibliotheca*, only three of Calderón's *partes* had been published, if La Barrera's *Catálogo* is correct on this point.

² "Matriti omnes prodierunt, indeque aliis in locis."

³ But we now know of a Madrid edition of Parte I of the same year (1604) as the supposed first Valencian edition; it has not yet been proved that the *editio princeps* was not of Madrid. As for Parte XXV, it is not impossible that Francesco Saverio Quadrio's mention of a "Ventesima quinta Parte delle Commedie di Lopez di Vega. In Madrid per la detta Vedova di Giovanni Gonzalez 1640. in 4.," in his *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni Poesia*, V (7 vols., Bologna, 1739-52), 341, is based on fact, since it was Juan González who printed Partes XVIII, XIX, and XX, and his widow who published the Parte XXII of 1635; such a volume, however, is now unknown. If it could be proved that such were, in fact, the first editions of the first and last of Lope's *partes*, Antonio's generalizing statement would lack confirmation only in the case of Parte XXIV.

explained in its Prologue, was accidentally delayed until after the publication of Parte XVII. Approaching the end of his list, he had noted down Parte XXI, Madrid, 1635; Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635; and Parte XXIII, Madrid, 1638. Coming, then, upon a Parte XXIV published at Saragossa in 1633, he must have been bothered both by the fact that this volume, unlike the twenty-two preceding ones, had not been issued at Madrid, and by the fact that it antedated the three preceding *partes*; and he must have been inclined to reject it at once as spurious. But in order to be able to do so, he had to have another volume to put in its place. It seems as if at this point, failing to find the desired regular *parte*, he picked up a volume of twelve plays in which the name of Lope appeared frequently as author and which he had reason to believe was printed at Madrid, though he found no date in it. If he finally accepted this dateless volume as the genuine Parte XXIV of Lope, he seemed to have done so hesitatingly, for, as if to place himself on the safe side, he hastened to add, as he had not done in the case of Parte XXII, a notice of the earlier spurious *parte* "hoc sub titulo," listing its contents also.

But if this meagerly described volume, without date, was not, as Antonio's hesitating manner allows us to suspect, the genuine Parte XXIV of Lope, what could it have been? I am convinced that it was most probably merely a *tomo colecticio*. A fairly large number of such collections, usually containing, like the *partes*, twelve plays each, still remain scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, with a few in America. Like many of these, Antonio's volume probably had no title-page: hence the absence of a date. Or if it had a title-page, I believe that the volume should be classed with the *extravagantes*, since it was probably put together in the same way as Parte XXVII *extravagante* appears to have been made up, that is, by some enterprising bookseller who conceived the idea of disposing of a part of his stock of *sueltas* by binding them up into twelve-play volumes, giving to these the false *parte* number "24" and not necessarily including exactly the same plays in the various copies thus made up.¹ My conviction that Antonio's Parte XXIV of Madrid really belongs to one of these two

¹ Regarding Parte XXVII *extravagante* see *Romanic Review*, XV, 100-104. Notice that La Barrera, in spite of his failure to list the volume in his *Nueva biografía* as one of the posthumous works of Lope, at one time maintained that it was in existence in the Biblioteca Nacional (see Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 421 n.). Possibly he was right, in which case its rediscovery some day in some obscure corner of that vast edifice may definitely place it in the category of *extravagantes*.

categories is strengthened by a study of the *tomo coleccion* which prompted the present investigation and which contains, as already stated, seven plays (six of them almost surely from the same press) found also in Antonio's volume. The resemblance between the two must be explained, so it seems to me, by something more than mere accident: the volume which I have before me appears to me to be either a new *tomo coleccion* composed, in part, of *arrachements* from the volume which Antonio used, or else one of the companion copies of the latter made up in the manner suggested above.

In conclusion, it is evident that such a Parte XXIV as that mentioned by Antonio as having been published at Madrid cannot be classed as one of the *genuine* Lope de Vega *partes*. The fact that only six of the plays in Antonio's list of contents are uncontestedly Lope's is alone sufficient reason for not admitting it to this category.¹ Moreover, Salvá would close the series of Lope's *partes* proper with the twenty-second of Madrid, 1635, for the reason that the poet himself did not prepare any more for the press,² the three subsequent *partes* which contain exclusively plays by Lope, namely, XXIII (Madrid, 1638), XXIV (Saragossa, 1641), and XXV (Saragossa, 1647), being, as Münch-Bellinghausen first pointed out, the result of sporadic and unsuccessful attempts on the part of several publishers to continue the Lope series.³ These three posthumous volumes, however, bringing the total up to the attractive round number twenty-five, seem to finish out the series so nicely that no set is considered complete without them. But in such a set the supposed Parte XXIV of Madrid can have no place.

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¹ *El palacio confuso* is quite probably by Mira de Mescua; *El ingrato*, although attributed to Lope in the unique copy of a seventeenth-century *suelta* in the Babcock volume, is preserved also under Calderón's name in an eighteenth-century *suelta*; the only play entitled *La tragedia por los celos* known to us at present is Guillén de Castro's; *La industria contra el poder* and *La Cruz en la sepultura* are regularly attributed under the titles of *Amor, honor y poder* and *La desoción de la cruz*, respectively, to Calderón, although the earliest dated editions assigning them to the latter author are posterior to Lope's death, the former even being rejected by Vera Tassis; and as for *El honrado con su sangre*, only Claramonte's play by this title, likewise preserved in the Babcock volume, has apparently come down to us.

² See Salvá, *Catálogo*, I, 547.

³ See Münch-Bellinghausen, *Über die älteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen* (Vienna, 1852), p. 135. The same author also shows that Parte XXII of Saragossa, 1630, and Parte XXIV of Saragossa, 1633 (the 1632 edition of this latter having been apparently unknown to him), probably belong to the series which was printed in various cities of the crownland of Aragon and later continued under the general title of *Diferentes* (also known as *Varios*).

LOS PRIMEROS MÁRTIRES DEL JAPÓN AND TRIUNFO DE LA FE EN LOS REINOS DEL JAPÓN¹

The above-mentioned two works of Lope de Vega have received but scant attention. Menéndez y Pelayo says of the first-named:²

En algunos trozos tiene visos de refundición hecha por algún poeta culterano, pero otros son muy dignos de la abundante y lozana fantasía de Lope. Además, esta comedia (que por su asunto nada tiene que ver con la relación historial que el mismo Lope compuso y publicó en 1618, con el título de *Triunfo de la fe en los reinos del Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615*) tiene parentesco, y muy estrecho, con la comedia de *Barlaam y Josafat* [should read: *Barlán y Josafá*], a la cual se parece tanto en algunos trozos que es imposible negar que ambas obras hayan salido de la misma mano. El encerrado príncipe Tayco es una variante del príncipe Joasaf.

The *Vida*³ gives the following information on the two works:

En las mismas cartas que hemos utilizado como documentos para historiar esa apasionada aventura de Lope se encuentran referencias a su producción literaria. "Mi estudio estos días—dice en una de ellas—ha sido una historia de unos mártires, o digamos una relación, a que *me ha obligado* haberme escrito unos padres desde el Japón: serán cincuenta hojas, que voy ya en los fines; pienso que agradará, que también sé yo escribir prosa historial cuando

- ¹ *Acad.* = *Obras de Lope de Vega*, publicadas por la Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1890-1913, Vol. V.
- Obr. suelt.* = *Colección de las obras sueltas, así en prosa como en verso, de frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, Vol. XVII. Madrid: Sancha, 1776-79.
- Vida* = *Vida de Lope de Vega*, por Hugo A. Rennert y Américo Castro. Madrid, 1919.
- Rivad.* = "Triunfo de la fe" (in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXXVIII). Madrid, 1872.
- Murdoch = *A History of Japan (1542-1661)*, by James Murdoch and Isch Yamagata. Kobe, 1903.
- Brinkley = *A History of the Japanese People*, by Captain F. Brinkley and Baron Kikuchi. London, 1915.
- Clement = *A Short History of Japan*, by Ernest Wilson Clement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915.
- TASJ* = *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XLIII, Part I: "Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations," by James A. Robertson, L.H.D. Tokyo, 1915.
- Murray = *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Japan*. London, 1913.

² *Acad.*, p. II.

³ P. 258. In p. 258, n. 2, attention should be called to a discrepancy in the date of the *Aprobación*. In *Obr. suelt.*, Vol. XVII, are printed two *aprobaciones*: one by R. P. Juan Camacho, of the Imperial Colegio de la Compañía de Jesus, of October 23, 1617; the other, by Dr. Gutierre de Cetina, is dated September 24, 1618, evidently a misprint.

quiero."¹ Esta obra apareció en 1618, durante el mes de febrero,² y no contiene aspectos que nos interesen especialmente. Lope quiso hacer un alarde de prosa historial, y sin duda logró relatar con exactitud y plasticidad los tormentos que sufrieron multitud de fieles defendiendo la fe; pero artísticamente, el relato apenas nos impresiona. Lope redactó su opúsculo según las informaciones que le enviaron, y no dispuso de sus habituales medios de inspiración; por esta parte, el Japón estaba muy lejos de cuanto él conocía para que pudiese dejarnos aquí destellos de su visualidad o de su emoción. Este escrito, como tantos otros, como tantas comedias, no brotó de un íntimo impulso; fué obra de encargo, que su autor cumplió de modo análogo a como el corresponsal de un periódico desempeña su crónica diaria. Con todo esto, debe leerse, aunque sólo sea para notar cómo en la obra literaria de nuestro poeta no faltan toques ni aun de lo más raro, dentro de las posibilidades de conocimiento de la época: "Incluye el nombre de Japón muchas islas, a quien divide el mar con tan pequeños brazos del continente, que parecen el ramo de las venas del cuerpo humano que pinta la Anatomía."³

My object in this article was to bring together evidence on the following points: (1) The title of the play should read *Los mártires del Japón* (or *Los Mártires japones*) in preference to *Los primeros mártires del Japón*. (2) The date of composition is more likely 1618 than 1617. (3) The material used in the *Triunfo* served partly for local color in the play and from that point of view is of interest to the student of the latter.

In addition, I include a brief commentary on the *dramatis personae*, allusions to historical events and customs, the versification, place-names, and a few emendations of the text. The maps in Murray, Murdoch, and Brinkley show the principal places mentioned in the two works.

There is a discrepancy between Lope's remark in his letter quoted above and the work itself as to the sources of his information. He says:

Escribo los martirios, no testigo de vista, que no fué mi dicha tanta, pero por relaciones de algunos padres que me las enviaron desde *Manila*, á efecto

¹ *Últimos amores*, pág. 59.

² "*Triunfo de la fe en los reynos de Japón por los años de 1614 y 1615. Al ilustrísimo y reverendísimo señor el cardenal de Sandoval, deán de Toledo. Por Lope de Vega Carpio, procurador fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica en el arzobispado de Toledo. Año 1618. Por la Viuda de Alonso Martín. La aprobación es de 24 de setiembre de 1617. Se reimprimió en el volumen XVII de Obras sueltas, y en Rivad., XXXVIII, 159. La comedia de Lope Los primeros mártires del Japón, por su asunto, nada tiene que ver con esta relación historial. De un manuscrito (Osuna) de la Biblioteca Nacional la imprimió Menéndez y Pelayo en el tomo V de la edición de la Real Academia Española.*"

³ *Rivad.*, XXXVIII, 162.

que en el estilo con que he nacido las publicase. Certifico á los que las leyeren, confesando mi ignorancia, que donde faltare mi pluma suplirán las lágrimas, sin las cuales no me ha sido posible dictarle esta piadosa historia, ánimo de los que padecen por Dios y afrenta de los que con tal descuido esperamos el incierto límite de nuestra vida.¹

Later, on page 164, he speaks of *one* of the seven Dominicans, who had evaded the anti-Christian edict of 1614, as having sent him the information: "y el que por sus cartas me ha advertido destas relaciones ... se partió á Arima, donde de la sangre de tantos mártires traia hecho un jaspe el hábito del español Domingo."

Here speaks not the passionate lover of *Amarilis* (since the latter part of 1616), but the priest (since April, 1614), who toward the end of 1616 had secured, by the good offices of his protector, the Duke of Sessa, whom he had assured of good behavior,² the position of "procurador fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica en el arzobispado de Toledo,"³ and evidently wanted to please the "Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo señor don Baltasar de Sandoval, cardenal de la santa romana Iglesia y deán de Toledo," to whom he dedicated the *Triunfo*,⁴ signing himself "capellán de vuestra ilustrísima."

That his intention was to please ("pienso que agrada") is also evident from page 172 of the *Triunfo*, where he quotes and translates Latin verses in praise of Jorge Akafogi, one of the Japanese martyrs, composed by "Francisco de Céspedes, hijo de aquel gran catedrático tan docto en las humanas letras, y secretario del ilustrísimo señor cardenal de Sandoval."

I. THE TITLE

In the *Vida* the following information is given about *Los Mártires del Japón*.⁵

Ms. copia, Cat. Bib. Nac., núm. 2.034. Este manuscrito está atribuido a Lope, salvo el acto III, que lleva el nombre de Amescua. Según Durán, es de Lope, pero Medel y Huerta le adjudican a Amescua. Acad., V (*Los primeros*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

² *Vida*, 238, n. 1: "pues plegue a Dios, señor, que si después de mi hábito he conocido mujer deshonestamente, etc."

³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁴ "Por ofrecer alguna cosa á la virtud y grandeza de vuestra ilustrísima, doy á luz este fragmento de historia sacra, pareciéndome que si la color de su dignidad se tomó del martirio, no es fuera de propósito dedicársela, y que no era posible desearle mas autoridad que su proteccion, ni mas luz que su sombra. Dios guarde a vuestra ilustrísima muchos años."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 494.

mártires del Japón). La fecha de esta comedia es de 1617. Véase Restori, *Zift.*, XXII, 292. *Los mártires del Japón* fué representada en las Filipinas en 1619. Véase Retana, *El teatro en las Filipinas*, pág. 29. Una comedia titulada *Los mártires japoneses* [error for *japones*?] fué representada en 1602. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, pág. 75.

and on *Los primeros mártires del Japón*:

Acad., V, que reproduce un manuscrito titulado *Los mártires del Japón* (copia hecha en Lisboa en 1637), Bib. Nac., Cat., núm. 2.034; en algunas hojas con los títulos *Un rey de los japoneses* y *Los primeros mártires del Japón* (*Zift.*, XXII, 292). Una comedia titulada *Los mártires japones* fué representada por Pedro Rodríguez a fines de junio de 1602. Véase Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, página 75. De la pieza publicada en Acad., V, dice Menéndez y Pelayo: "En algunos trozos tiene visos de refundición por algún poeta culterano ... ; además tiene parentesco muy estrecho con la comedia *Barlán y Josafá*, a la cual se parece tanto en algunos trozos, que es imposible negar que ambas obras hayan salido de la misma mano" (Pág. LI). Se extraña el Sr. Restori (*Zift.*, XXII, 292) que Lope en 1618 no se acordase de una comedia escrita en 1617, puesto que no se halla este título en la segunda lista de *El Peregrino*.¹

As the second title appears only on a few sheets of the MS it is safe to assume that the first title was more likely the one used by Lope. The following evidence corroborates this assumption. In *La Philomena*, published in 1621, Lope praises himself for having sung *Los martyres japones*.² Besides, the *Triunfo* shows that he was fairly well acquainted with the history of Christian martyrdom in Japan, and knowing that the martyrs he speaks of, especially Fray Alonso Navarrete, were not the first ones, there is no reason why he should have endeavored to give them a distinction to which they were not entitled, unless *primero* is to be understood here as "mejor, más notable," which seems doubtful.³ In the *Triunfo* he says at the outset:⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

² *Vida*, p. 276, wrongly quotes the title as *Los mártires del Japón* (*Obr., suelt.*, II, 463-64):

"Yo canté finalmente
los *Martyres Japones*
porque mi voz no agradeciese solo
el mar que el Duero, el Tajo, el Betis bebe,
sino el que tiene por zenith el polo
mas Oriental:"

³ trying to illustrate the breadth of his vision.

⁴ On *Rivad.*, p. 178, there is a passage, however, which might admit such an interpretation: "En Xiquil martirizaron á un santo viejo llamado Adan, á quien tuvieron colgado vivo, ya en la cruz, ya en un árbol, mas de sesenta dias, bajándole á descansar las noches, &c. ... Admiracion se debe á la constancia y virtud deste santo viejo, tan digno del primero lugar entre los mártires del Japon, como su Adan primero."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Mi asunto es referir las *nuevas* persecuciones de aquellos nuevos cristianos, por los años de 1614 hasta el fin de 1615, en Arima, Arie y Cochinosu, cuyas persecuciones tuvieron origen de la pasión gloriosa de ocho mártires, que, porque no fuese el fénix único milagro en la naturaleza, todos lo fueron en las llamas, renaciendo al cielo de sus cenizas mismas.

Farther on, he mentions quite correctly the first Christian martyrs in Japan, twenty-six in number, executed by order of Taikō-sama (Hideyoshi) at Nagasaki on February 15, 1597 (old style).¹

Other specific dates given are November 21 (no year),² November 22, 1614,³ and February 2, 1609.⁴ In 1614-16 no foreign priests were executed by order of authorities in Japan.⁵

As *Los mártires del Japón* was played in the Philippine Islands in 1619 it is permissible to assume that the Manila friars had asked Lope not only to write an eloquent historical narrative of the persecutions in 1614-15, but a *comedia* as well, in order to stir up enthusiasm for their propaganda.⁶ For the play he must have received further material dealing with later developments of the persecutions in Japan.

II. THE DATE

Restori wonders why Lope should have omitted the play from the second list of *El Peregrino* in February, 1618. However, he assumes

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177, allusion to relics, *ibid.*, p. 175. Murdoch, pp. 290 ff. On p. 295 the date of execution is given as February 5, 1597 (new style). Among them were six Franciscans from Manila, three Japanese Jesuits, and seventeen native Christians. This was the first execution of both foreign and native Christians by order of the Japanese government. See also Brinkley, p. 543; *TASJ*, pp. 42 ff., 50, and engraving facing p. 132—"Primi Martyres Iaponiae." On native Christians executed by order of local *daimyō* prior to 1597 cf. Murdoch, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179: "Estos fueron los mártires del año de 1614 y 1615 en aquellos reinos, sin otros muchos de cuyo tránsito no se tiene entera noticia. Así se va propagando en aquella nueva iglesia el patrimonio de Cristo. Quedan los religiosos, á quien se deben estos triunfos, después del capitan Jesus, con grande confianza que la sangre destes santos derramada en su nombre ha de alcanzar una general conversion de aquellas islas para mayor gloria suya. ..."

⁶ An effort was being made to have the 26 martyrs of 1597 canonized. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, instituted by Sixtus V in 1587, had the case under consideration. The martyrs were canonized finally by Urban VIII on September 14, 1627, and the news of it reached Manila toward the end of 1629 (Murdoch, p. 295, n. 15). There also seems to have been a propaganda on foot to induce the king of Spain to undertake the conquest of Japan (*ibid.*, pp. 606-7).

1617 to be the date of composition from the ending of the play,¹ not considering that steamboats and the telegraph had not as yet been invented. A more critical examination of the circumstances may throw some light on the problem.

If Lope is the author of the play, and the general unity of it as well as its similarity to *Barlán y Josafá* are very strong arguments in favor of Lope's authorship, he must have conceived of Fray Alonso Navarrete as the principal martyr. Even assuming that Amescua or "algún poeta culterano" added or re-wrote Act III, he would not have had to add Navarrete to the cast, for the energetic Dominican friar appears already in Act I, line 693, where the Franciscan monk makes him the spokesman of the three *religieux*:

Nuestro Padre provincial,
Fray Alonso Navarrete,
(A Santo Domingo estamos
Obligados de mil modos)
Hable, responda por todos;
Voz y obediencia le damos.

It is true that in the cast his name is not given (unless *un fraile dominico* is intended to represent him), and his speech in answer to the above-quoted summons bears the caption "Domingo," but it is doubtful whether another poet could have simply interpolated some of the passages in Acts I² and II, as well as the long biographical data found in Act III, lines 128 ff., and thus transformed an unidentified Dominican friar into Navarrete, also adding the miracle of the fire and the spectacular ending where Navarrete holds his severed head in his hands and is nevertheless able to speak. The omission of his name in the *dramatis personae* is not the only instance: the *emperador* appears without any name in the cast, while in the play he is called

¹ *Zft.*, XXII, 292: "La commedia che segue, *Martires del Japón*, era inedita finora. I versi ultimi: *El perdón y fin se deben Al suceso del Japón Del año que está presente, danno la data della commedia. La fervorosa ma impudente condotta del padre Alonso de Navarrete, condusse lui e i suoi compagni al martirio nell'anno 1617* [s. Charlevoix, *Hist. du Japon*, II (Paris, 1736), 222-25]. È strano che Lope non ricordasse questa commedia al pubblicare, nel febbraio 1618, la sua seconda lista del *Peregrino*." There are three inaccuracies in this brief comment: first, regarding the date; second, in Navarrete's name; third, plural for *il suo compagno*.

² Tomás in ll. 839-40 says:

"Ver quiero embarcar agora
A mi padre Navarrete."

Jisonén, Dayso, Dayso sama; the nameless *alcaide* of the cast is called Gualemo, Polemo, and Lepolemo in the text.

Fray Alonso Navarrete¹ went to Japan from Manila in 1614; when the anti-Christian edict of Iyeyasu, of January 27, 1614, began to be enforced, he went into hiding and suddenly came out in 1617, despite the fact that in the meantime, on October 1, 1616, a still more stringent anti-Christian edict had been issued by Hidetada, Iyeyasu's son and successor.² The Prince of Ōmura was commissioned to see that the edict was enforced, and on May 21, 1617, he was obliged to order that two *padres*, De l'Assumpcion and Machado, be executed. The result was just the reverse of what the authorities had expected: the fanaticism of the native Christians was stirred to the highest degree and the grave of the two martyrs was the scene of considerable miracle-working.

And in the midst of all this, Navarrete, the Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, and Ayala, the Vice-Provincial of the Augustins, came out of their retreat, and in full priestly garb started upon an open propaganda in Ōmura's domains, heralding their approach by a letter addressed to him in the most defiant terms! Naturally, Ōmura, thus challenged, was forced to act promptly, all the more so as Navarrete told him that he [Navarrete] did not recognise the Emperor of Japan, but only the Emperor of Heaven! The two fanatics—for so even Charlevoix considers them to have been—were secretly conveyed to the island of Takashima and there decapitated, while their coffins were weighted with big stones and sunk in the open sea.³

This happened on June 1, 1617. Mail from Manila to Spain took usually a year, whether it went via Goa or via New Spain.⁴ Therefore, Lope could not have known of Navarrete's death before the middle of 1618 and possibly later, after the *Triunfo* and the second list of *El Peregrino* had been published. He probably wrote the play shortly afterward and sent it to the *padres* in Manila in time to be represented in 1619.

¹ Espasa, *Enciclopedia Univ. Ilustrada*, XXXVII, 1275; "Navarrete [El Beato Alonso o Alfonso], nació en Logroño en 1571.—El señor o tono del reino de Vomura, que habla renegado de la fe, los [him and Ayala] condenó á muerte y fueron decapitados en la isla de Tacaxima el 1° de Junio de 1617. El papa Pío IX lo beatificó en 1867. Su fiesta se celebra el 1° de Junio." Cf. also *Diccionario Salvat*, VI, 1072; *TASJ*, pp. 22, 81, 93, 100, 102-4, 118.

² Murdoch, pp. 609 ff.; Brinkley, pp. 548 ff.

³ Murdoch, p. 618.

⁴ Cf. embassy to the pope in February, 1582, which reached Lisbon in August, 1584, via Goa (*ibid.*, p. 114, n. 15). Embassy of Daté Masamuné left Sendai in October, 1613, and reached Spain toward the end of 1614, via Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 595).

In the third act, which both by its disproportionate brevity (707-91 lines) and its style shows traces of *refundición*, in addition to the ending by which Restori dated the play, there is another allusion to dates in lines 135 ff.:

y en la casa
De Valladolid, famosa
Porque fué corona y patria
De dos Felipes, segundo
Y cuarto, vida sagrada
Elegió ...

Both Felipe II and IV were born in Valladolid, but to speak of the latter as *cuarto* before he actually came to the throne in 1621 would have been impossible in 1618. In view of the above-stated facts we must consider both of these allusions to dates due to later editing, possibly by Amescua.

III. MATERIAL IN THE "TRIUNFO" USED IN THE PLAY

It would be interesting to discover the original document of the information received by Lope from the *padres* in Manila (or whoever sent it to him), compare it with the original of the *Triunfo*, and make a good edition of both the *Triunfo* and *Los Mártires del Japón*.

The descriptions of Lope are remarkably accurate, and show that he kept very closely to his data, allowing his imagination to fly only when occasion presented itself for a display of classical erudition—a weakness to which Cervantes alludes in the Prólogo to *Don Quixote*. The discrepancies between the *Triunfo* and the statements in the play may be due to additional information received in connection with Navarrete's martyrdom, or to Lope's well-known disregard for accurate figures.¹

The following passages are of interest in connection with the play:

Entre las selvas de islas á quien el mar permite sacar las frentes, yace el Japon, ya tan conocido de nosotros, como ignorado antiguamente, ó por la noticia de sus embajadores en Roma, ó por los que al Rey Católico vinieron

¹ *Vida*, p. 265: "Lope, sin embargo, las cuenta como si fueran cuatrocientos sesenta y dos, lo cual no habla muy alto de sus conocimientos matemáticos, adquiridos en su juventud con Juan Bautista de Labana."

tan deseosos de la fe, por órden de los padres de San Francisco, el año de 1615,¹ ó lo que es mas cierto, por la que nos han dado con sus cartas los padres de la Compañía,² buenos testigos del fruto de su predicacion y cuidado. Dióle la naturaleza un sitio tan apartado de todo el resto de la tierra, que no se sabe cuál es mas remoto de nuestro trato, el sitio ó las costumbres. Incluye el nombre de Japon muchas islas, á quien divide el mar con tan pequeños brazos del continente, que parecen el ramo de las venas del cuerpo humano que pinta la anatomía. Son tres las principales, y á quien las otras están sujetas; la mayor tiene seiscientas leguas de largo y trescientas de ancho; corre del norte al ocaso, dividida en cincuenta y tres reinos.³ Es la metrópoli del Japon, Meaco,⁴ ciudad no inferior á las mas politicas de la Europa, por hermosura y grandeza; y ansí, el que della se puede adjudicar el cetro es tenido por señor universal de los convecinos mares y tierras. Simo,⁵ que con segundo lugar aspira al primero, tiende su espacio del septentrion al mediodía, acercándose á la China, noble por sus nueve reinos, donde Bungo, con la ciudad de Vosuco y Tunay,⁶ se hace tan célebre. Xicoco,⁷ la tercera, contiene cuatro reinos á levante, con el famoso de Tosa. Las islas del contorno son sin número, y solo la de Meaco reconocida por la parte meridional, que por la oriental y septentrional aun ignora sus confines la atrevida navegación de los

¹ Embassy of Daté Masamuné (probably sanctioned by Iyeyasu), under the leadership of Padre Sotelo (a Manila Franciscan), which, starting from Sendai in October, 1613, via Acapulco in Mexico, entered Madrid on December 20, 1614, and had an audience with Philip III on January 30, 1615. The ambassador, Hashikura, was baptized on February 17, 1615, the Duke of Lerma being his godfather! He arrived in Rome in October, 1615, and was splendidly received by the pope, Paul V. In 1620 the embassy returned to Sendai, and Hashikura declared that Christianity was only a "vain show" (Murdoch, pp. 595 ff.; *TASSJ*, p. 40, under 1595 [error for 1615]).

² This possibly refers to the embassy sent by the *daimyō* of Ōmura and Arima in February, 1582, to Philip II of Spain and the pope, Gregory XIII (*ibid.*, p. 115, n. 15).

³ This is correct, if the islands of Tsushima and Iki are counted as separate provinces and added to the 51 provinces of Honshū (main island), in 1618. The Japanese word for these provinces, *kuni*, is written with the Chinese character *kuo* (Japanese pronunciation *ko*), meaning "kingdom," "country"; the Portuguese missionaries, therefore, translated it *reino*, and called the rulers (in Japanese *daimyō*) "reyes." The total number of these provinces in 1618 was 66 (or 68 when counting the two islands); today they are 85, divided into prefectures (*ken*). Yezo (Hokkaidō), the fourth large island, was practically unknown then, and almost totally inhabited by the predecessors of the Japanese, the Ainu. Froes, the Portuguese missionary, mentions it and speaks of the hairy Ainu as Tartars, "admodum barbaros, colore fusco, capillis barbaque promissis uti Moscovitae" (Murdoch, p. 275 n.). Murdoch says "Tartars," meaning probably "Russians."

⁴ Miyako (now Kyōto), founded by the emperor Kwammu in 794 A.D., capital of Japan until 1868. St. Francis Xavier says of it: "Meacus urbs olim fuit amplissima, nunc propter assiduas bellorum calamitates magna ex parte eversa atque vastata est. Quondam (ut aiunt) tectorum millibus CLXXX constabat. Id sane mihi verisimile videtur. Murorum enim circuitus longe maximam fuisse urbem declarat. Nunc etiam magna ex parte eversa est, tamen domorum millia continet amplius centum" (Murdoch, p. 55, n. 1).

⁵ Shimo, i.e., Kyūshū (=nine provinces: Hisen, Chikusen, Chikugo, Busen, Bungo, Higo, Hyūga, Satsuma, Ōsumi).

⁶ Usuki, Funai (modern Ōita).

⁷ Shikoku (=four provinces: Iyo, Sanuki, Awa, Tosa).

hombres, dudando si es isla, istmo ó continente contiguo con la China. Dista el Japon de la nueva España ciento y cincuenta leguas. Toda esta tierra es por la mayor parte montuosa, fría, y mas que fecunda, estéril. Hácela temerosa dos montes, Figionoyama,¹ que trascendiendo las nubes, se atreve á conservar intactas las cenizas, mejor que el Olimpo despreciador de la region del aire; y el otro, que Italia llama volcan,² horrible por las que escupe, y porque á los gentiles, que con larga penitencia vanamente se afligen y por voto visitan este monte, se aparece al demonio en una nube resplandeciente, desde donde los habla y consuela, quiero decir, engaña, miserable imitador de la luz, que perdió por tan soberbia culpa. Su gente es blanca,³ su ingenio y memoria admirable; no cubren la cabeza: sus riquezas son metales, sus fábricas madera, sus armas arcabuces,⁴ flechas, dagas y espadas. En las que sirven de hastas hacen notoria ventaja, ansí en el venenoso temple como en el corte y ligereza, á las de Europa. Mudan el traje conforme á las edades,⁵ afrenta nuestra, que ni aun lo consentimos al tiempo, emendando la vejez con artificio, como si en las fuerzas le hubiese hallado la vana diligencia ó la lisonja. Escriben bien prosa y verso, y en todas las demás acciones desprecian los forasteros, como naciones á la suya tan ínfimas.⁶ Esta descripcion basta para la inteligencia de nuestro propósito, y porque esta materia ha sido tratada de tantos, como cosa á nuestros tiempos incógnita; que no es mucho que si en los límites de la anciana Castilla lo fueron á nuestra edad tantos lugares, y ellos tan bárbaros, que ni el rey ni dios conocían, lo fuese islas tan remotas y apartadas de las comunes sendas de los navíos.

In view of this accurate information regarding the number of provinces, it is not quite clear why Lope speaks of 74 kings in Act I, line 5, and of 50 rebellious kings in Act III, line 659.⁷ One would expect him to speak of 66 kings. It is true, however, that in reality these provinces were not governed as though each belonged to one feudal lord; at times one province was divided among several *daimyō*,

¹ Fuji-san, i.e., Mount Fuji (called by poets Fuji-no yama), 12,390 ft., quiescent volcano, highest mountain in Japan proper ("Figionoyama," *Obr. suelt.*, p. 112).

² Refers possibly to Aso-san, 5,222 ft., an active volcano and highest mountain in Kyūshū, having the largest crater in the world.

³ From the point of view of a Spaniard many Japanese of the *kasoku* (aristocracy) and *shisoku* (former *samurai*) class might be considered as such.

⁴ Firearms were introduced into Japan by the Portuguese adventurers, who were the first Europeans to set foot on Japanese soil in 1542, and these instruments of culture as well as lucrative foreign trade were the chief causes for the rapid spread of Christianity in Kyūshū, especially in Hizen and Bungo (cf. Murdoch and Brinkley).

⁵ This custom is still adhered to.

⁶ The Portuguese were called *Namban* (southern barbarians) by the Japanese. Later, the term *ketōjin* (haired fellow) became a popular expression of contempt for the foreigner.

⁷ *TASJ*, p. 41, quotes a rare document, dated 1598, which gives the following information: "El Emperador y supremo Rey del Japon, tiene sesenta y quatro Reynos a su obediencia, &c."

or again several provinces were governed by one lord. Lope might have known this from other sources. As a matter of fact, the situation at the time of the Ōsaka struggle, alluded to in the play, was somewhat complicated. The feudatories were divided into 82 *Fudai* (vassals of Iyeyasu) and 117 *Tozama* (outside) *daimyō*. Of the later 34 were friends of Iyeyasu, 67 were neutral, and only 14 were sympathetic with Hideyori, who appears as Tayco soma in the play.¹

Lope must also have forgotten that Japan is "mountainous and cold" when he introduces us in Act II, lines 95-99, to *caimanes* and *papagayos* of the West Indian tropics and occasionally calls the Japanese *indios*.

Pues habiendo llegado á los oidos del emperador del Japon, que ahora quinientos años se intitulaba Dairo,² y por los vicios y cobardías del último, que siempre los viciosos son cobardes, perdidos los estados y el nombre, que ya casi se resuelve en el señor de Tenka,³ que sin los referidos mártires, se ofrecian otros muchos al cuchillo en deshonor de sus dioses, con la prometida gloria, en que tan bien instruidos estaban por el cuidado de aquellos padres, se resolvió de no dejar en todos sus reinos, no solo á los religiosos que habian sembrado la fe de Cristo en ellos, pero ni la memoria del nombre, que donde una vez se imprime, jamás se acaba. Persuadian esta determinacion (que á los príncipes siempre acompaña) los inquietos deseos de Sañor,⁴ privado suyo, gobernador de la ciudad de Nangazaqui, fuerte enemigo del nombre cristiano. ... Parecióle al Rey que, habiendo mandado, no podia exceder la calidad del delito á mayores grados que á no ser obedecido, y considerando cuerdamente que la fuente y origen de aquellas aguas que corrian al cielo eran los religiosos, y que faltando ellos, les faltaria el ánimo de aquel discurso, para que su claridad se enturbiase y su velocidad se detuviese, despachó sus provisiones reales á los tonos y gobernadores de sus reinos para que, desterrándolos del Japon, los remitiesen á Nangasaki, para enviarlos desde allí á las Filipinas y á Macan, y que en saliendo de sus tierras, derribasen los templos, quemasen las imágenes y rosarios y mandasen que todos dejasen la fe y adorasen los

¹ Murdoch, p. 527. The number of principal feudatories in 1615 is given as 34 in Brinkley on map facing p. 570.

² The missionaries refer to the emperor as *Dairi*. The names *Dayso* and *Dayso sama* used in the play are probably a corruption of *Dairusama*. Cf. *dramatis personae*, under "emperador." The power of the emperors of Japan became practically extinct since 1200 A.D. It was restored in 1868.

³ By this name the missionaries designated the *Go-kinai* (august home provinces: Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, Settsu). They apply the term "Tenka" or "Lord of the Tenka" also to Iyeyasu (Murdoch, pp. 472, 599).

⁴ Hasegawa Fujihito (Sahyōye), governor of Nagasaki from 1606 to 1614, when he became the Lord of Arima. Called Sañoye, Sañan-dono, by contemporary writers (*ibid.*, pp. 609, 610, 613).

ídolos; y que á los que se resistiesen, quitasen la vida con exquisitos géneros de tormentos, poniendo guarda á sus cuerpos porque no los reverenciasen y adorasen. ... Publicóse en la corte este edicto cruel ... juntándose los religiosos á la partida con tiernas lágrimas y con dolorosas voces de sus hijos. ... Ausentes los padres de la Compañía, franciscos, dominicos y agustinos, halló principio la determinacion súbita en el desamparado fundamento, y dando al fuego las iglesias, cruces, reliquias, imágenes y ornamentos sacros. ...

The incidents described above form the setting of the first act of the play, Sañor being replaced by the Rey de Bomura, a renegade Christian. The *padres* make a resolution to return to Japan in disguise.

Bien creian los jueces que estaban libres de los ministros del Evangelio; pero habíanse quedado cinco sacerdotes clérigos, perfectísimos y aprobados varones; de la Compañía de Jesús diez y ocho padres, de San Francisco seis; y siendo los de San Agustin tres solos, se quedó el uno; de Santo Domingo eran nueve, y se quedaron siete.¹ Todos, finalmente, escondidos, y algunos dellos huidos despues de haberlos embarcado y dejado la mar adentro infinitas leguas, con gran peligro de las guardas. ... Fué forzoso dividirse estos padres, y el que por sus cartas me ha advertido destas relaciones, animado de aquel divino Pedro, gran defensor de la fe, que con su sangre misma escribió en la tierra el credo, se partió á Arima, donde de la sangre de tantos mártires traía hecho un jaspé el hábito del español Domingo.

The great struggle of Ōsaka of 1615, between Iyeyasu and Hideyori, which appears in the play in a somewhat romantic form, is mentioned as follows:

Pero atajaron la deliberacion de los unos y la crueldad de los otros la nuevas de que el Emperador llevaba la peor parte en las guerras que tenía con Friday,² hijo legítimo del pasado. Cañor se retiró hasta el fin del suceso, y cansado de derramar sangre, depuso la cobarde espada, y atendió con diferentes armas al progreso de aquellas guerras, donde si salía con victoria, prometía la mas fiera persecucion que se hubiese visto en la nueva iglesia de aquellos reinos. ...³

¹ Murdoch, p. 503, gives the total number of priests who had evaded the edict of 1614 as 47: "Altogether eighteen Fathers, most of them 'professed of the four vows,' and nine Brothers of the Company of Jesus, seven Dominican Fathers, as many of the Franciscans, one Augustin Father, and five secular priests evaded the Edict of expulsion; that is, altogether, another edition of the famous Forty-seven Rōnin."

² Probably misprint for Finday, meaning Hideyori, whom the contemporary writers call Fidayas-sama or Findayas-sama (*ibid.*, pp. 542, n. 17; 563, n. 3). Hasegawa Sahyōye had to aid Iyeyasu in the siege of Ōsaka, and the persecutions in Arima were for a time stopped (*ibid.*, p. 610). He was succeeded in 1618 by a more gentlemanly nephew of his, Hasegawa Gonroku (*ibid.*, p. 620).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

IV. THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE

TAYCO SOMA.—The title Taikō (Great Prince), usually accompanied by the honorific *sama*, was assumed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592,¹ when he made his nephew Hidetsugu regent (*kwampaku*).² When in 1593 a son, Hideyori, was born to him of a young wife, Yodogimi, he found pretexts to exterminate Hidetsugu and his family so as to assure his son the succession. Some doubt that Hideyori actually was his son. At his death in 1598 he intrusted his lifelong friend and companion in wars, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, with the guardianship of the young prince, together with four other regents. Not trusting the ambitious guardian very implicitly, Yodogimi withdrew with her son into the stronghold of Ōsaka, maintaining otherwise good relations with Iyeyasu. The latter, having become the sole master of the empire after the battle of Seki-ga hara in 1600, did not open hostilities against his ward until 1615, when after a long siege the castle was taken. Hideyori committed suicide; his mother was killed by one of the retainers.³

In the play the young prince is called erroneously Tayco or Tayco Soma, the same as his father.⁴ Iyeyasu is called *emperor*—a current error in the letters of the missionaries, who attributed to the regents (Iyeyasu having really only the title of *shōgun*)⁵ the imperial prerogative. The *emperor* is accused of keeping the young prince a prisoner in the "torre de Usaca" for fifteen years,⁶ since the age of six years.⁷ The king of Singo gives the title of Tayco Soma to the emperor in Act I, line 111—probably to flatter him.

EMPERADOR.—The emperors of Japan had sunk during the Middle Ages, especially since 1200 A.D., into a position of mere figureheads,⁸ who, as the direct descendants of the sun-goddess (Amaterasu Ō-mikami), were too sacred to meddle with political affairs. The country was ruled by *shōguns*, or military regents.

¹ Murdoch, p. 380; Brinkley, p. 322.

² "Combaco," *TASJ*, pp. 42-43.

³ Murdoch, p. 550; Brinkley, pp. 567 ff.; Clement, p. 79.

⁴ Act I, ll. 35-90.

⁵ Brinkley, p. 563; "Xōgū," *TASJ*, p. 129.

⁶ This is correct: from 1600 to 1615, though Hideyori actually was not a prisoner.

⁷ Should be seven years. The political situation is fairly accurately described in this speech (Act I, ll. 53-74).

⁸ Brinkley, p. 330; Clement, p. 47.

During the second half of the sixteenth century Japan was successively ruled by three of the ablest men in her history: Oda Nobunaga (1534–82); Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), better known as Taikō-sama; and Tokugawa Iyeyasu (1542–1616), founder of the Tokugawa régime, which maintained itself in Japan until 1868, when the emperor's authority was restored under Meiji Tennō. Contemporary writers refer to Iyeyasu under various titles: Daifou-sama,¹ Kubosama,² Cubosamo,³ Ungosisama.⁴

The "closeted" emperors were called *dairi* by the missionaries. The name of this real emperor during the period with which we deal was Go-Mizu-no-o (1611–29). Of the names Jisonén, Dayso, and Dayso sama used in the play, the last two are probably mutilations of Daifu sama.

REY DE BOMURA.—As was said before, the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries called the feudatory lords of Japan the *daimyō* (lit., "great name"), *reyes*, sometimes to flatter them. The family of Ōmura held a fief in the province of Hizen. To the south, the Arima family held the Shimabara peninsula; to the north, the Matsuura family held the fief of Hirado.⁵ In the early days of Christianity in Japan, Ōmura Sumitada had become a convert in 1562,⁶ and with him practically all of his subjects. Arima was converted in 1576.⁷ Sumitada died on May 24, 1587,⁸ apparently faithful to his adopted creed. He and Arima sent an embassy of four young men to the king, Philip II, and to the pope in 1583;⁹ they were treated as "royal" ambassadors, and returned in 1590, joining the Jesuits. The *daimyō* of Bungo was converted and baptized in 1578, his son in 1587.¹⁰

The real motive of these conversions probably was the desire to maintain a lucrative trade with the Portuguese. Through this trade the fief of Ōmura became very prosperous; Nagasaki, formerly a mere fishing village, became a flourishing town. Between 1591 and 1596 Christianity scored a great success among the upper classes;¹¹ at that time there were 137 Jesuits and 300,000 converts in the country,¹² mostly Kyūshū. This probably moved Hideyoshi, after his visit to

¹ Murdoch, p. 594.

² *TASJ*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 607.

Murdoch, p. 625.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 89; 115, n. 15; 261–62; *TASJ*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹¹ Murdoch, p. 274.

¹² Brinkley, p. 542.

Kyūshū, to give the order for the execution of the 26 martyrs in 1597, especially when the rivalry between the Portuguese Jesuits and the Spanish Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustin friars convinced him of the danger of Christian sectarianism. The indiscreet remark of the captain of "San Felipe," which had been stranded at Urado (modern Kōchi), undoubtedly had much to do with his sudden wrath.¹

Since then, Christianity was in disfavor. Konishi, the Christian *daimyō* of southern Higo, was decapitated after the battle of Seki-gahara in 1600.² Terasawa the governor of Nagasaki, apostatized in 1600, Ōmura (successor of Sumitada, called Don Sanche) in 1604,³ in order to gain the good will of Iyeyasu. In that year Arima was the only Christian *daimyō* in Japan; he was dispossessed by the above-mentioned Hasegawa Sahyōye in 1614, who started a fierce persecution of the Christians. The Bomura in our play is the son of Don Sancho. He

. . . . had been one of the five Kyūshū Daimyō charged with the superintendence of the deportation of the *religieux* in 1614, and he had reported that the commission had been carefully and exhaustively executed. As a matter of fact, this young Daimyō, having been baptized in his infancy, and his sister being even then an ardent believer, had connived at the escape or the return of some of the priests. Hidetada, now hearing of this, caused his Ministers to censure Ōmura severely when he appeared at Court on Japanese New Year's Day [February 6, 1617] to congratulate the Shōgun, and to dispatch him at once to Nagasaki to carry out the Edict without fail, while he received secret instructions to put the priests to death. At this date there were as many as fifty *religieux* in Japan, most of whom were in Nagasaki. Of these some ten or a dozen were now seized and sent to Macao and Cochin China; but of these, two Dominicans and several others very soon came back. Ōmura, thus finding his hand forced, all unwillingly made up his mind to have one foreign priest killed to show that he was really in earnest, and so to intimidate the others. Two, however, were arrested by his overzealous officers. "Ōmura, however, in the hope of obtaining an attenuation of the sentence, sent his report to the Court, asking for a decision. The reply, which was received on May 21, 1617, was a sentence of death"; and on that day Fathers De l'Assumpcion and Machado were beheaded.⁴

¹ Murdoch, p. 288: "'Our Kings,'" said this outspoken seaman, "'begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer *religieux* who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent who combine with the new Christians, and then our Kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest.'" Cf. also *TASJ*, pp. 32, 155.

² Murdoch, p. 435.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 617.

In the play he is represented as having advised the emperor to banish the Christian priests:

Yo podré mejor decirte
La causa, porque la sé;
Yo fui cristiano.
.
Dejé la ley que ellos siguen,
Y así sé de los cristianos
Los intentos y los fines.
.
Destiérralos de tu Imperio,
Verás qué seguro vives
De traiciones y engaños
Por muchos siglos felices.¹

These words are almost prophetic. Japan did live in a happy seclusion for nearly 230 years until the superior naval guns of Christianity forced it to abandon a policy of peace and venture upon the *mare magnum* of world-politics and wars.

ALCAIDE.—Though he is a *japón* (or *japonés*), he cannot escape the fate of being called *indio viejo*, the traditional Spanish term for oversea heathens. In the cast he is given no name, but Tayco refers to him on various occasions by various names: Gualemo (Act I, l. 471), Polemo (Act II, l. 302), and Lepolemo (Act II, ll. 815, 830, 908, and in the stage directions).

REY DE AMANQUI.—There is a village called Amagi in the province of Chikuzen, not very far from Akizuki, but it never was an independent fief. Akizuki was the *daimyō* of Chikuzen, hostile to the Christians, because he could not obtain assurances from the Jesuits that Portuguese merchants would trade at his port of Hakata. This Rey de Amanqui appears in the play also under the name of Amarque and Rey Mag, evidently mutilations. Could it be Mōri Terumoto, usually referred to in the missionary letters as Morindono, king of Amaguci or Amanguchi (i.e., Yamaguchi in the province of Suwō)?²

¹ Act I, ll. 128–58. In *Read.*, p. 163, this is more correctly attributed to Sañor, i.e., Hasegawa Sahyōye: "Representaba el cobarde al engañado rey algunos delitos, qui decía cometerse en el Japon."

² *TASJ*, p. 57.

REY DE SINGO.—This is the province of Higo, in missionary spelling Figo, Fingo.¹ The northern part of this province, under Riūzōji, was hostile to Christianity. The southern part, given by Hideyoshi to the Christian *daimyō* Konishi (Don Agustín of the missionaries), was pro-Christian until 1600, when Konishi was beheaded after the battle of Seki-ga hara.

REY DE SIGUÉN, represented as Tayco's friend, is the imaginary ruler of Hizen; called also Fixén in the play, Fizen by the missionaries. In the *Triunfo* it appears as Algen, Tigen, Tegen, due most likely to bad reading of the MS.

MANGAZIL, the Japanese *gracioso*, has an easily rhyming name, purely fictitious. In the long list of Japanese names in the *Triunfo*, Magoyemon is the nearest to it. In his speech in Act I, lines 643 ff., he has an opportunity to allude to the Japanese custom of taking off the *geta* (wooden clogs) when entering a house, though the situation is just the reverse:

Descálzome, para usar
La japona cortesía;
Más acomodada es
La que al español ensalza,
El [for *es*] la cabeza descalza,
Y nosotros ambos pies.

TOMÁS, a boy whose pagan name is given as Liseo. The name Tomé is frequent among the Christians spoken of in the *Triunfo*; "santo mártir Tomás Moro" is mentioned on page 172.

QUILDORA (a Japanese country girl whom both Tayco and the emperor are courting), NEREA (whom Bomura courts), GUALE (a Japanese youth), UN INDIO, and UN SOLDADO complete the Japanese part of the cast.

¹ In *Rivad.*, p. 177, it appears as Fulgo. This Portuguese spelling of the Japanese aspirate *h* (similar to the Arabic *h*) is a curious attempt at phonetics. As in Portuguese the *h* was silent, the missionaries selected *f* to represent the Japanese sound, very incorrectly, indeed. They also nasalized vowels before voiced consonants, where in Japanese there is no nasalization, except in the case of *g* as in Nagasaki (pronounced Nangasaki, exactly as the missionaries spell it): Fizen (Hizen), Fiuga (Hyūga), Facata (Hakata), Niffonno Cotōba (Nihon-no kotoba, i.e., the Japanese language) Fingo (Higo), Firando (Hirado), Finda (Hida), Faranda (Harada), Isinda (Ishida), Fazamburo, Fazambro (Hasaburō). Another peculiarity was to prefix a *b* or *v* before Japanese initial long or short *o*: Bomura, Vomura (Ōmura), Vomi (Ōmi), Voary, Boari (Owari), Voxu (Ōshū). Ōmura is occasionally spelled Ormura.

The foreign *padres* are represented by UN FRAILE AGUSTINO, UN FRAILE DOMINICO, and UN FRAILE FRANCISCANO. These are called in the play: Francisco, Domingo, Agustín. The first to speak in Act I, line 691, is Francisco, who asks Fray Alonso Navarrete to speak for all three. The answer is marked "Domingo," and Padre Navarrete is first mentioned as a specific individual in Act II, line 556. An unidentified person, Reymundo, is referred to in Act I, line 772.

JAPANESE PLACE-NAMES IN THE *TRIUNFO*¹

ALGEN.....	Wrong reading for Figen = Hizen
ARIE.....	A village in Shimabara peninsula
ARIMA.....	Region between Kuchinotsu and Shimabara
BUNGO.....	Province in Kyūshū
COCHINOTZU.....	Kuchinotsu, a village in Shimabara peninsula
CHIQUÉN.....	Possibly Chikuzen [cf. Chicugen, <i>TASJ</i> , p. 57], but more likely Hizen
FUMI.....	?
FUIGO.....	Province of Higo [<i>ibid.</i> , pp. 57, 59]
FUNGO.....	Province of Bungo
JATSUCHIRO and } JATSUGIRO }	Town of Yatsushiro in Higo [<i>ibid.</i> , p. 58: Yateuxiro]
NANGAZAQUI.....	Nagasaki ("Angalaqui," in Act II, l. 577, is probably misreading of N.)
QUIONDOMARI.....	Village of Kyōdomari, not in Suwō, but in Hizen
ROBAMA.....	Wrong reading for Vobama = Obama, east of Nagasaki
SUCA, probably identical with } SUCABA }	Sukawa, a village in the Shimabara peninsula
SUO and SUOZUMA.....	Province of Suwō
TAZAKA.....	A village in Kyūshū, unidentified
TAQUETA.....	Takeda, a village in Bungo
TIGEN, TEGEN.....	Wrong reading for Figen [cf. <i>ibid.</i> , p. 57] = Hizen
TIRANDO.....	Wrong reading for Firando = Hirado, island belonging to Hizen
TUNAY.....	For Funai, modern Ōita, in Bungo
VOSUCO.....	Usuki, in Bungo
XIQUI.....	Probably island of Shiki (Shikijima), near Amakusa ["Xequi," <i>ibid.</i> , p. 57]

¹ Cf. Murray, pp. 445-74.

XIMAMPARA.....	Shimabara peninsula [<i>Mp=b</i> , as in modern Greek]
YAMAGUCHI.....	City in Suwō
TUGIMI	Fushimi near Kyōto [cf. <i>ibid.</i> , p. 58]
ZURUNGANDONO.....	In places misread Zufingandono=Lord of Suruga, possibly Iyeyasu, though he never went to Kyūshū

TABLE I
VERSIFICATION

	Act I	Act II	Act III
Stanzas	81		
Romances	342	214	295
Redondillas	424	679	412
Décimas	100	40	
Songs	21		
Total lines, 2,608	968	933	707
Crossed out or missing:			
Romances	12		
Redondillas		5	84
Décimas	20		

The play is written almost exclusively in *romances* and *redondillas*; taking the actual number of lines (2,608) as a basis, the proportion would be about 32.5 per cent and nearly 59 per cent.¹

Taken as a whole, the comparison of the two works shows in a very concrete manner what result Lope is able to attain when he takes his *cuatro pliegos*² (which are about *cincuenta hojas*) and writes a *comedia* in one case and *una relación histórica* in the other. It is plain that he was born to think and write in verse. His faculty for easy and clear composition leaves him at once when he attempts prose: he becomes sententious, heavy, ungrammatical, and obscure in places.

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¹ Cf. Milton A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays* ("University of Toronto Studies"), p. 21.

² *Vida*, p. 190.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS

The "Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures," edited by Edward C. Armstrong (Princeton University Press), have reached sixteen issues in the past ten years, and have maintained a high standard of excellence both as to matter and presentation. Number 10 (1922, 103 pp.) is E. C. Armstrong's own study of the *French Metrical Versions of Barlaam and Josaphat*, illustrated with some eight plates of the MSS studied. It will be recalled that the principal Old French *Barlaam* was published, quite unsatisfactorily, by Zotenberg and Meyer, as long ago as 1864; in 1907 Carl Appel made a new edition, making full use for the first time of the neglected Monte Cassino manuscript; Armstrong now studies the unpublished metrical version, which he calls the Anonymous (three MSS, with a prose version in two MSS) and makes it clear that Gui de Cambrai (author of the Appel text) is indebted to the Anonymous for some four passages and for parts of his Epilogue: these passages would disappear from a future critical edition of the *Barlaam* of Gui de Cambrai. This author, Armstrong gives excellent reasons for believing, dedicated his poem to a minor noble of Vermandois, Gilles II, of Marquais, about the year 1220. An Appendix contains a complete reprint of the fragments of a recently discovered Brussels MS of Gui's version. In Number 13 (1923, 72 pp.) Lawrence F. H. Lowe, under the title *Gérard de Nevers: A Study of the Prose Version of the Roman de la Violette*, examines the history of the two prose MSS and their relation to the charming poem of Gerbert de Montreuil, of which we should welcome a modern edition. L. F. H. Lowe also studies certain episodes of his prose text, of which he announces an edition. Number 14 (1923, 67 pp.) contains the text, with Introduction, notes, and glossary, of *Le Roman des Romans: an Old French Poem*, edited by Irville C. Lecompte, University of Minnesota. The comprehensive subject of this poem is announced by its anonymous author in the lines:

A cest romanz est li mundes matire:
Cum il fu ja e cum il or empire.

It is a moralizing though energetic satire on the ills of the world, written in the language and meter of the *Vie saint Alexis*, about the year 1200, but whether on the Continent or in England cannot be determined with certainty. The editor's text, based upon a collation of the eight MSS known, contains linguistic material of no little interest; the author, for one thing, uses a vocabulary which coincides frequently with that of the *Chanson de Roland* (cf. v. 968

and *Rol.* 1774), a fact not without value, as Lecompte believes him to have been a Norman cleric. The edition is illustrated with four facsimiles of the MSS, and is dedicated to the memory of the late Jean Acher, whose disappearance during the war attracted so much attention. One detail: Should not the end of line 2 read, *kar li nons est garanz* (all MSS *granz*)? Note that this is exactly the idea of verse 16, and that the author uses the word *garant* at verses 312, 391, 547.

T. A. J.

AN INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL REVIEW

We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this new international venture. The editors of *Litteris*,¹ while serving the cause of Swedish scholarship, whose results they propose to review, express the hope that the new journal

will prove to be a means of communication between scholars of different nations and a neutral ground for the survey and criticism of European and American scholarship in the Humanities in general, regardless of conflicting ideas and aims of a purely political character.

Contributions are sought preferably in English, French, or German, but otherwise all Teutonic or Romance languages are permitted.

The first number, which we welcome into the field, lives up to this program admirably. Its cosmopolitan character is at once shown by the topics treated: Alfred Stern reviews in German, H. Salomon's *L'incident Hohenzollern*; A. González Palencia, in Spanish, E. A. Peers' *Rivas and Romanticism*; A. Meillet, in French, the *Streitberg Festschrift*; George Saintsbury, in English, E. Legouis' *Spenser*, etc. Among the other well-known scholars who contribute to this number are J. G. Robertson, Holger Pedersen, F. Baldensperger, and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

Litteris will be published three times a year, and will furnish its reviewers with twenty "off-prints" and an *honorarium* of three Swedish crowns per page.

W. A. N.

¹ *Litteris, an International Critical Review of the Humanities*. Vol. I, No. 1, published by the New Society of Letters at Lund, under the editorship of S. B. Liljgren, Jöran, Sahlgren, and Lauritz Weibull. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1924.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Alexander Pope. A Bibliography. Volume I, Part I. Pope's own Writings, 1709-1734. By REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas, 1922. Pages xxxv+297.

In the collections of the Wrenn Library, the Aitken Library, and in his own very extensive collection of Popiana, Mr. Griffith has had resources of unparalleled extent from which to make this unparalleled bibliography. There have been already attempts to list the first editions of Pope, notably by Mr. Aitken in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Volume XII (1914), and more recently by Mr. T. J. Wise in his *Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, Volume IV (London, 1923); but Mr. Griffith, with his larger resources and the larger scope of his work, displaces all other attempts in the field. For serious students of Pope this volume is as indispensable as the Elwin-Courthope edition of the poet. With its precise dating of each item it gives a view of Pope's early career more accurate and more detailed than can be found anywhere else, and it includes miscellaneous bits of information that are priceless. One example: the "Proposals" for the subscription for Pope's *Iliad* are here reprinted from the third edition of the *Rape of the Lock*, where alone they have heretofore been available. One gets not merely a description of first editions, but, usually, a complete idea of the vogue of any one piece by Pope so far as the number and frequency of editions is an indication. For some of the lesser works the bibliography might be more complete in this respect; Mr. Griffith never quite loses the collector's preoccupation with first editions.

The difficulties of the task can hardly be exaggerated. One must always be wary, but at the same time must free himself from the favorite obsession of the last century with regard to Pope, namely, that he was personally fit only for treasons, stratagems, and spoils. Any bibliographer who cherished the idea that Pope preferred "mystification" to plain dealing would constantly borrow trouble; he would be bound to see Pope-made "mysteries" where only his own ignorance existed. And when variant issues of a poem come from the bookseller as rapidly as they did in the case of the *Dunciad* or the *Essay on Man*,¹ it is easy enough for anyone to believe in "mystification" if he attempts to determine the order in which the issues were put on the market. Mr. Griffith almost never allows the personality of Pope to influence his opinions—though he does babble a bit once (p. xxx) about Pope's spelling "Curl" with one l. It may be that Mr. Griffith's oversubtlety in listing the 12mo *Dunciad* as the first edition is due in part to this tendency of all students of Pope to see "mys-

¹ It is positively painful to think of the time and labor Mr. Griffith must have spent in reducing the various issues of such works as these to a semblance of chronological order. One must refer him to Mr. Pollard's excellent remarks on this matter in a review of Iolo A. Williams' *Seven XVIIIth Century Bibliographies*. See the *Library*, V (1924), 102-3.

teries"; but it seems mainly due to his belief (p. xxix) that in the case of two variant editions of a book the one with the greater number of misprints cannot safely, other things being equal, be regarded as the earlier. This is the only "dangerous" principle enunciated by Mr. Griffith, and it is very dangerous.

It is true, as Mr. Griffith says (p. xxvi), that bibliography has not a fixed terminology. I am enough of a novice to believe that Mr. Griffith had a glorious and unimproved chance to help fix its terminology. In one case (Nos. 24 and 25), books are called "variant *a*" and "variant *b*," and we are told that in variant *b* "the type has been reset throughout." Should not resetting of type always preclude the use of the term "variant"? Again, in the most puzzling case of the imitation of "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace" (Nos. 288-93), Mr. Griffith says there are five "variants," all calling themselves on the title-page "the first edition." Mr. Wise¹ calls these five "editions." Both men agree that the five represent three settings of type. With terminology defined carefully, this matter could have been much more clearly presented, by speaking of edition (or "issue," if you wish) *a*, edition *b*, (with variants 1, 2, and 3), and edition *c*. In summarizing the data upon which they base their conclusions in this matter, both of these experienced bibliographers seem unduly preoccupied with title-pages and with minute differences in text-readings. The real criterion is the spacings of the words in the text—not in the title-pages. The use of a ruler, as Mr. Griffith has learned, will settle with ease problems of reset type. Here the different readings are inadequate as evidence, and the elaborate summaries of them, however useful ordinarily as criteria for collectors, seem only to cloud the problem of the interrelations of the five "variants" or "editions."

One of the really fine things about Mr. Griffith's work is the modesty with which he states his results, and the painstaking care with which he indicates sources of information. A dogmatic bibliographer who says "without doubt" at every turn, and who recognizes no obligation to "document" statements, easily becomes a pest. In Mr. Griffith's work all the cards are on the table, and any errors should be easy to detect. There are surprisingly few errors in view of the great mass of minute detail here collected. I have compared the early editions of Pope found in the University of Chicago Library with Mr. Griffith's descriptions without detecting a single error.

The modifications of his work, which I here proceed to suggest, are practically never corrections of errors in his text. They are additions to the material he presents. He himself speaks (p. xvi) of the desirability of "a thorough-going examination of the periodicals for information about Pope." Such an examination of many newspapers for the years 1712-30 I have made. The notes here appended are a partial result. Inasmuch as they were collected for biographical rather than bibliographical purposes, they are frequently incomplete in collation, etc., but usually they indicate where complete information can be found. Most of the notes are matters of more precise dating within the year of publication; twenty (indicated by Roman numerals) are items—

¹ *The Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, IV, 35.

not always important ones—that Mr. Griffith has not included in his work. The Arabic numerals are those used by Mr. Griffith in identifying a book. Since the notes are for reference rather than for after-dinner reading, I may be pardoned for suggesting that the more interesting ones may be found under numbers IV, 123, XV, XVI, 137, XVIII, and 196.

26. *An Essay on Criticism*, 3d ed., undated by Mr. Griffith, may be placed before November 28, 1713. See *Evening Post* of that day.

I. February 18, 1714 (*Post-Boy*).

The Poetical Entertainer: consisting of epigrams, satyrs, dialogues, &c. viz., Upon a Tory-Lady who shed her water at Cato. . . . To be publish'd as often as occasion shall offer. No. V. Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall. 6d.

Advertised as this day published in the *Post-Boy*, February 18, 1714. See *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pages 172-73, for my argument ascribing the lines "Upon a Tory Lady" to Pope and Rowe. The lines appear in the *Miscellanies* ("last volume," 1727), page 176.

31. Poems and Translations (Oldmixon's miscellany). To be dated between April 6 and 10, 1714, from advertisements in the *Evening Post* on those days.

32. Miscellaneous Poems (Lintot's miscellany, 2d ed.). This work, here because of its title-page placed in 1714, is advertised ("This day is publish'd") in the *Daily Courant*, December 4, 1713, and as "just publish'd" in the *Post-Boy*, December 12, 1713. Lintot's *Monthly Catalogue* (p. 55) lists an edition as printed for him in December, 1714.

34. The *Post-Boy*, March 4, 1714, announces for that day the second edition of *The Rape of the Lock*.

37. *A Key to the Lock*. This may be more precisely dated as April 25, 1715. See *Flying-Post*, April 23, 1715, and the *Postman*, April 26-28, 1715.

44. *Divine Poems*. My earlier suggestion to Mr. Griffith that this volume might possibly contain the "Messiah" was unfortunate. The poem is not there.

45. *The Temple of Fame*, 2d ed. This is advertised as this day published in the *Daily Courant*, October 8, 1715.

II. The Works of the celebrated Monsieur Voiture. Done from the Paris Edition by Mr. Ozell, to which is prefixed the Author's Life and a Character of his Writings by Mr. Pope. . . . London, 1715. 2 vols.

So advertised in *Catalogue 107* (1923) of Dulau & Co., Ltd., Oxford. The first newspaper announcement that I have noted appears in the *Evening Post*, November 29, 1716. It is there advertised by Curll. In the 1753 edition of this work (the earliest that I have seen) the "Character" (see pp. i-iii, just after the title) is Pope's "Epistle to Miss Blount with the Works of Voiture." The *Evening Post*, July 29, 1725, advertises a second edition. See also *ibid.*, March 24, 1719.

51. *Court Poems*. To be dated March 27, 1716. See advertisements in the *Postman*, March 27, and the *Evening Post*, March 27-29.

III. The *Evening Post*, September 15, 1716, carries the following advertisement:

This Day is publish'd, *More Court Poems*. Part 2d. Containing, 1. The Dream, or, Melesinda's Lamentation on the Burning of her Smock. 2. The Hyde-Park Ramble, with some other Pieces. Written by a Lady of Quality. To which are added, The Worms, a Satire, also, a Version of the first Psalm, for the Use of a Young Lady. Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane, pr. 1s. Where may be had, The first Part of *Court Poems*, viz. The Basset-Table, The Drawing-Room, The Toilet, pr. 6d.

One wonders if a volume called *More Court Poems* was ever really printed.

IV. November 8, 1716 (*Postman*).

Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Made English. By several Hands. Volume II. [Ornament] London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row, E. Curll in Fleetstreet, and J. Brown without Temple Bar. 1717.

12mo. Sig.: [Title-page] A-K in 12's; L in 11.

Pages: Title [verso blank]; 1-252; 5 leaves [Index].

Volume II contains Books IX-XV.

In Book XIV the story of Vertumnus and Pomona is translated by Pope (see pp. 204-7; 210-11). The rest of the book is apparently done by Theobald—a unique case of “collaboration” for these two? Since the volumes are apparently rare (I know of no copy in America except my own, and neither the British Museum nor the Bodleian seemed to have a copy in 1922), and since the “collaboration” of these two famous enemies has, so far as I know, never been pointed out before, it may be worth while to describe Volume I, though it contains nothing by Pope. In my copy the two volumes are in a single contemporary calf binding.

(V.) Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Fifteen Books. A New Translation. By Several Hands. Adorn'd with Cuts. Volume I. [Ornament] London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and W. Taylor in Pater-Noster-Row, E. Curll in Fleet-Street, and J. Browne without Temple-Bar. 1717. Price 6s.

12mo. Sig.: [Frontispiece; title-page] A2-6; 4 leaves; B-O in 12's. Pages: Title-page [verso blank], i-xviii [Dedication to Barnham Goode, Esq.; signed (p. xviii), G. Sewell, August 1, 1716], 1-299; 6 leaves [Index]. The sixteen engravings in the two volumes are all inserts.

The verso of O12 (in Vol. I) contains the names of “the Gentlemen concern'd in this translation.” The authors of Volume II, here also listed, are:

Book IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. by Mr. Theobald.

Book XIV. by Mr. Pope and Mr. Theobald.

Book XV. by Captain Morrice.

For advertisements of the translation, see the *Postman*, November 8, 1716; *Evening Post*, October 20, 1716, November 20, 1716, and *passim* early in 1717. The *Whitehall Evening Post*, October 6, 1724, advertises the second edition as “just published.”

69. *The Court Ballad*, 2d ed., may be dated February 2, 1717, for the *Post-*

Boy of that day announces: "This Day is publish'd, the second Edition of I. The Court Ballad. Written by Mr. Pope. Price 2d.," etc.

70. *The Parson's Daughter*. The *Postman*, February 21, 1717, announces this item as this day published. Query: Should not the collation read: Sig.: 1 leaf; A and B in 4's; C, 3 leaves?

VI. April 16, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Who flourish'd in the reign of Henry the Eighth. *Printed from a correct copy*. With the Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, and others of his famous Contemporaries. To which are added some memoirs of his life and writings. London: Printed for W. Meares at the Lamb, and J. Brown at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar. 1717.

Sig.: A-R in 8's. Pages i-xvi; 1-270.

British Museum copy [1077g17]. Edited by G. Sewell?

Page xv quotes lines 291-98 of "Windsor Forest."

VII. April 16, 1717 (*Evening Post*).

Songes and Sonettes written by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey. Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, within Temple Barre, at the Signe of the Hand and Starre, by Richard Tottell. Anno 1567. Cum Privilegio. Re-printed by E. Curll. Anno 1717.

Half-title: The Earl of Surrey's Poems.

8vo. Sig.: 4 leaves; B-E in 4's (half-sheets).

The first four leaves have neither signatures nor page numbers; thereafter the pages run 1-32. There are two copies in the British Museum, one lacking the half-title; the other lacking all of the sig. C. If the first four leaves had numbers the half-title might be i; the title, iii; and on v would be found "Mr. Pope's Character of the Author in his Poem intituled, *Windsor Forest* inscrib'd to the Lord Lansdowne." This "Character" is lines 291-98 of *Windsor Forest*. It is used in advertising (*Evening Post*, April, 13, 16, 25, May 2; *Daily Courant*, April 17, etc.). Curll was apparently using Pope's name to hurt the sale of the Sewell edition out of enmity to Meares. Meares sold his edition at 5s. and 10s. Curll's prices were 1s. and 2s.

Mr. Griffith first called my attention to a possible connection of Pope with these editions of Tottel's miscellany.

VIII. Before June 3, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

"Essai sur la critique; imité de l'Anglois de Mr. Pope. In Quarto. Price 6d. Sold by Peter Dunoyer, Bookseller at Erasmus's Head in the Strand." The *Daily Courant*, June 3, 1717, so advertises this volume as "newly publish'd." I have not seen a copy.

Mr. Griffith includes no translations; but if he wishes his bibliography to indicate vogue, this version, made by Roboton, private secretary to George I, and published in Amsterdam and London (see *Biographia Britannica*, V [1760], 3408, note), might properly be listed. In general it seems to me that translations published in England should be included in this bibliography. Certainly Latin versions made in England should be.

88. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Garth's). This may be dated July 1 from an

advertisement in the *Daily Courant*. The work has been advertised as early as 1715 (see *London Gazette*, August 6, 1715; *Daily Courant*, August 24, 1715) as speedily forthcoming. A second edition, announced for March 15, 1720, in the *Evening Post*, is listed by Lowndes, and there was a magnificent edition printed in Amsterdam in 1732.

IX. July 12, 1717 (*Daily Courant*).

Poems on several occasions: By His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wycherly, Lady Winchelsea, Sir Samuel Garth, N. Roww, Esq.: Mrs. Singed, Bevil Higgons, Esq.: And other eminent hands. [Ornament] London: Printed for Bernard Lintot between the Temple-Gates, 1717.

For a complete description of this volume as well as Pope's contribution to it, see Dr. Arthur E. Case's article in the *London Mercury*, X (October, 1924), 614-23. Dr. Case's discovery of this hitherto unknown volume (published apparently July 13, 1717) is a brilliant and astonishing contribution to Pope bibliography.

X. December 17, 1717 (*Evening Post*). Curll here in an advertisement of Rawlinson's Latin edition of the *Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise* quotes Pope's "Eloisa," lines 91-96, beginning

O happy Statel where Souls each other draw,
When Love is Liberty, and Nature Law.

The warmth of the passage makes its quotation a typical "Curlicism," with unfriendly intention both to virtue and to Pope.

XI. February 18, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

A Clue to the Comedy of the Non-Juror. With some hints of consequence relating to that play. In a letter to N. Rowe, Esq.; Poet Laureat to his Majesty. . . . London: Printed for E. Curll, in Fleet-street. 1718.

Half-title: A Letter to Mr. Rowe concerning the Non-Juror. (Price Six-pence).

8vo (Half-sheets). Sig.: [A]-C in 4's; 2 leaves.

Pages 1-25; 3 (unnumbered; adv.) British Museum copy (1343.e.3).

See *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 176-79, for evidence that this and not the *Compleat Key to the Non-Juror* is by Pope.

XII. March 25, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

The Plot Discover'd: or a clue to the comedy of the Non-Juror. . . . The second edition. London: Printed for E. Curll, in Fleet-street. 1718.

Half-title: A clue to the Non-Juror. (Price Six-pence).

British Museum copy.

Only the leaves for the title and half-title differ from the "first edition"; the type is not reset for the rest. Facing the title-page on the verso of the half-title are printed four lines of verse "To Mr. Pope" ascribing the work to him.

For advertisements see the *Evening Post*, March 25, April 24. Still another "edition" (which I have not seen) is advertised *ibid.*, July 15, as appended to "The Fanaticks Sous'd: being the new prologue on the revival of Tartuffe at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. . . . Printed for E. Curll." The same newspaper (December 4) again advertises the pamphlet as appended to "The

English theatre for the year 1718. . . . Printed for E. Curll." Probably these are remainder copies.

XIII. April 19, 1718 (*Evening Post*).

The British history, translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth. With a large preface concerning the authority of history. By Aaron Thompson, late of Queen's College, Oxon. . . . [sentence from Livy]. London: Printed for J. Bowyer at the Rose in Ludgate-Street, H. Clements at the Half-Moon, and W. and J. Innys at the Princes-Arms in St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCXVIII [1718].

8vo. Sig.: a-h in 8's; A-Z, Aa-Cc in 8's; Dd-Hh in 4's.

Pages; Title; i-cxi; 8 leaves [List of Subscribers; if numbered, these pages would be cxiii-cxxviii]: 1-401; 4 leaves [Explication of Place Names; would be pp. 402-9]; 22 leaves [Index (pp. 44) and Errata (p. 1)].

Pages 23-24 contain the version by Pope of Brutus' prayer at the oracle of Diana [8 lines], and on page 24 is the goddess' reply. This is the first edition of these bits of verse. See E-C, VI, 375-76 and *The Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 174-76.

91. *The Art of English Poetry* (Bysshe). The *Evening Post*, April 19, 1718, announces the sixth edition of Bysshe's work as this day published in two volumes, "corrected and enlarg'd from the best Authors, as Mr. Addison, Sir Sam. Garth, Mr. Pope, &c." In my own library I have a copy of the sixth edition in four volumes (all 1718). Volumes I and II, as well as the others, quote Pope's *Homer* frequently.

93. *The Iliad*, Volume IV. The *Postman* and the *Evening Post* announce it as "this day published" on June 14, 1718. The *Daily Courant* advertises it similarly for June 20.

97. *The Ladies Miscellany*. This may be dated November 21, 1717 (not 1718) from an advertisement in the *Evening Post*. See also *ibid.*, December 21, 1717.

99. *Love's Invention*. This (2d ed.) may be dated July 5, 1718, from the *Evening Post* of that day.

108. *Court Poems*. The *Evening Post*, November 27, 1718, has an advertisement which seems to fit this volume. It announces as this day published "the second edition" of "Mr. Pope's Miscellany. Consisting of Court Poems in two Parts compleat. . . . To this edition are added" the two items specified in the title of 108.

110. *Ode for Musick*. The *Evening Post*, October 15, 1719, announces (note the date): "This day is Re-publish'd, 1. The celebrated Poem of the Fable of the Bees. . . . 2. Mr. Pope's Essay on Criticism, with the Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. pr. 1s." . . . etc.

123. *Jacob's Lives of the Poets*. On March 10, 1720, the *Evening Post* advertises *The Poetical Register* as "just republished." See No. 142 in Griffith. When, then, did the first edition appear, and what title did it bear? The advertising of the *Historical Account* about July 13 is more consistent and explicable than is this of March 10.

With regard to the possibility of Pope's having written his own life for this collection it is interesting to note the *Evening Post* for March 20, 1718, which advertises *The Poetical Register* as in press and concludes:

Several Gentlemen of Eminence having communicated what Memoirs they thought proper relating to their Descent, the Order of Time in which their Works were compos'd, &c. Those who have not yet sent are desir'd to transmit what Accounts they intend in a Fortnight's Time at farthest, directed to Mr. G. J. at the Golden Wheat Sheaf in the Old Bailey.

A fortnight later gentlemen are urged to send materials in a week's time, "to G. J. to be left with Mr. Curll" (*ibid.*, April 3). There was then nothing underhand or even unusual in Pope's conduct with regard to his biographical sketch here. Congreve did much the same thing as Pope apparently.¹

XIV. March 29, 1720 (*Evening Post*).

This newspaper announces for Curll and others: "The Second Eve; a Poem on the Lady Mary Wortley Montague. By Mr. Pope" as published this day. It seems probable that this, and not Hammond's *New Miscellany*, is the first edition of this poem. See No. 120 in Griffith.

120. *A New Miscellany* (Hammond's). This is advertised, *Evening Post*, May 21, 1720, as this day published.

XV. October 21, 1721 (*Evening Post*).

If we are to take literally Pope's note to the *Dunciad* (1729 ed., p. 70), Book I, line 106, the poet himself would be the author of the following notice, which has not been reprinted hitherto:

Whereas a new Edition of Shakespear has been for some time preparing for the Press; any Person therefore who is possessed of any old Editions of single Plays of His, and will communicate the same to J. Tonson in the Strand, such Assistance will be received as a particular Obligation, or otherwise acknowledged in any Manner they shall think proper.
See also the next item.

XVI. May 5, 1722 (*Evening Post*).

A notice similar to that just given in XV is here found:

"The new Edition of Shakespear being now in the Press; this is to give Notice that if any Person has any Editions of the *Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Timon of Athens*, *King John*, and *Henry the 8th*; printed before the Year 1620, and will communicate the same to J. Tonson in the Strand, he shall receive any Satisfaction required."

Doubtless the satisfaction of seeing such editions was denied all concerned. The advertisements, here first reprinted, are interesting documents in the history of Shakespearean editing. I, for one, take them as sincere attempts to get help.

135. *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations* (Lintot). A "new edition" is advertised as "this day published" in the *Evening Post*, November 13, 1722. See also *ibid.*, November 27.

XVII. December 21, 1722 (*Daily Courant*).

Annus Mirabilis: or the wonderful effects of the approaching conjunc-

¹ See his *Complete Works*, I (1923), 104.

tion of the planets Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn. By Abraham Gunter, Philomath. London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1722. Pr. 3d.

Folio, 6 pages.

This pamphlet is ascribed to "the famous Mr. P—," in the *London Journal*, January 5, 1723, and in a poem called "The Chicken" in *Cythereia* (1723), page 76. It appears in the *Miscellanies*, III (1732), 85–97.

137. *The Works of John Sheffield . . . Duke of Buckingham*. This item is advertised by Tonson in the *Daily Courant*, January 25, 1723, as this day published, printed by J. Barber. According to the *British Journal*, February 2, 1723, the books "were on Sunday last, seiz'd by some of his Majesty's Messengers" on account of their Jacobite passages. *Pasquin*, in Nos. XII and XIII (February 13 and 20, 1723), devotes its space to attacking Pope on this account in two ironical letters supposed to be addressed by him to his Grace the late Duke. These (by Duckett or some other enemy) tell the story of Pope's alleged double-dealing in regard to the *Works* of the Duke. Strangely enough, in view of the suppression of the edition, the *Post-Boy*, February 9, 1723, has an advertisement of "Theod. Sanders at the Bell in Little Britain . . . where may be had His Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Works in 2 vols." Somewhat later (March 9, 1723) a news item, which pretends to have been copied from the "Article from London" in a continental newspaper, is printed in the *London Journal*. It begins, "Mr. P— the Editor of the Works of the late D— of B— is making all possible Interest that the publick Prohibition may be taken off from the same." It continues, exaggerating doubtless the offenses of the Duke's writings. These hostile notices in *Pasquin* and the *London Journal*, to which (so far as we know) Pope paid no attention, constitute an interesting pre-*Dunciad* episode. For other editions of Sheffield's *Works* see *infra* Nos. XVIII and XIX.

139. *Cythereia*. To be dated April 6, 1723, according to the *Evening Post* of that day. The advertisement falsely describes the volume as consisting of poems "none of which [were] ever before publish'd." This statement may have aided the persistence to our day of the erroneous idea that the volume contains the first edition of the Atticus lines. The *Evening Post*, November 10, 1724, advertises "Mr. Markland's Collection of New Poems, consecrated to Venus. With Mr. Pope's Character of Mr. Addison. Price 1s. 6d." This is probably not a new edition, but it is interesting as making Markland responsible for the collection.

XVIII. The *Evening Post*, February 29, 1724, carries the announcement:

This Day is Republish'd, The Works of His Grace John Duke of Buckingham. . . . Printed for J. Barber, and sold at the Printing-house upon Lambeth hill, near old Fish-street, by J. Bowyer, Messieurs Wm and John Innis . . . and W. Taylor.

This announcement marks the success of Pope and Barber in their efforts to get Sheffield's *Works* before the public. Does the advertisement announce a genuine new edition, or is the event really a "release," practically, of the confiscated copies? The signatures of Volume II of the 1723 edition described by Mr. Griffith (No. 137) are highly confused for an edition that has not been

remade. The Newberry Library of Chicago has a 1723 edition which contains all the pages missing in Mr. Griffith's copy; i.e., it contains pages 65 (as well as *65) and 66-104 [= 04?]. The signatures, except for the insertion of an extra sheet *R, run in this copy regularly from K to Z in fours. K3 and 4 and X4 are apparently cancels; stubs seem to show that to be the case. The pagination is highly confused, as in Mr. Griffith's copy. Does the Newberry copy represent a perfect state of the true first edition, or is it an edition "remade" to satisfy Whig censorship? It should be compared with a copy of the 1724 edition¹ to determine the nature of Pope's political indiscretions as editor. Something might be learned also by comparing it with Curll's edition of 1724, which was ruled a "breach of privilege."²

XIX. A collection of epigrams. . . . London, J. Walthoe, 1727. In this collection No. CCCVIII is "Epitaph on Mr. Harcourt's Tomb: Written by Mr. Pope." (I have no record as to the place where I saw this book.)

196. *Miscellanies*. The last volume.

Description of this curious volume is apparently difficult. At any rate the collations of Mr. Griffith and Mr. T. J. Wise³ do not agree in all details. I suspect there may be more variants than the two noted by Mr. Griffith. An interesting copy in the British Museum seems to have the leaves which were excised in Mr. Griffith's copies. Mr. Wise collates a copy that has A1-3 (lacking in Mr. Griffith's copies), as does the British Museum copy. It is obvious that A2 and A3 were properly excised because the Table of Contents they contain is reprinted after page 314 (with the addition at the beginning of "Περὶ Βαθούς: Of the Art of Sinking in Poetry"). In the British Museum copy, U has four leaves, though U4 should have been canceled, since it duplicates X1. Both U4 and X1 are numbered pages 295-96. Evidently the volume was to have ended with page 296 and with the appropriate poem, "To Stella Who Collected and Transcribed His Poems." In the excised U4 we have "Finis" on page 296, but the word is not found on the verso of X1 (the authentic page 296), and three poems occur after the one to Stella. Originally the *Dunciad* was intended for this volume, and it evidently became necessary at the last to use everything available and to mix prose with verse in order to get out the volume, much of which had been in type for months. I suspect that Pope's letter to Motte, June 30, 1727, has been faultily transcribed for printing and that the reference in the first sentence should be to sheet X, not to sheet R.

XX. *Miscellaneous Poems*. . . . Publish'd by Mr. Ralph. 1729.

Pages 158-59 contain "To a Learned Lady." This is Pope's five stanzas to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. No author is named.

GEORGE SHERBURN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ John Wilford's *Monthly Catalogue* for February, 1724, lists this edition among his "new books"—not among "books reprinted." It is by him (p. 2) described as a quarto selling for "two guineas in sheets to subscribers."

² *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report 10, Appendix I, p. 485.*

³ *The Ashley Library, a Catalogue*, IV, 13.

Modern Philology

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A NEW VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS

The Library of the University of Chicago contains a little manuscript volume which bears the number B3675.14.5 and is officially described as follows:

MS. 61 (It. 5) *Ore*.

Paper ff. 138, cm. 13.3×9.4, single columns, usually of 18 lines, 13 quires, of 16, except 4th, 7th, and 9th (4), 13th (5), 8th (7), 10th (8), 6th (12), and 12th (14). Rulings on both sides. F. 82b is blank. The upper half of f. 138 has been torn away. Berlin purchase no. 42.

[Date] 1439.

Label: wanting. The manuscript has a parchment cover, much worn.

Contents: Prayers, hymns, and sermons, Italian and Latin. The contents are not numbered in the manuscript.¹

From this volume I have transcribed² the *Istoria Sancti Alexi*, which, though incomplete, gives a unique version of the famous legend, and one which is here published for the first time.

The study of this Renaissance version (the exact date is 1439), which, judging from the dialectal Italian, comes from the northeastern part of Italy, divides itself logically into four parts: (I) explanation of the method adopted in the transcription; (II) transcription;

¹ From Edgar J. Goodspeed and Martin Sprengling, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Chicago*, p. 69, under No. 61, head 38. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1912.

² I gratefully acknowledge the assistance received, in certain pages of this transcription, from Professor Charles Lemmi, now of Goucher College; and thank, also, Professor Ernest H. Wilkins, who first called my attention to this MS.

(III) comment on the particular form of this legend, viz., on its sources and its relation to the standard versions, which are the Bollandistic and that of Jacobus de Varagine in the *Legenda Aurea*; (IV) discussion of its versification and its linguistic peculiarities. Of these four parts only the first two are here set forth. The other two will follow shortly.

I. METHOD ADOPTED IN THIS TRANSCRIPTION

Every manuscript presents its own particular problems of transcription. As this is not a diplomatic transcription, but one whose object is to provide, without clogging details, an exact reproduction of the text, preserving all its archaic and dialectal peculiarities, it has seemed proper to adopt the following rules: (1) to resolve, as customary, all obvious abbreviations; (2) to leave the *i*, *j*, and *y* unchanged, because of their possible linguistic significance; but to change the *u* and *v* (which were used interchangeably throughout the sixteenth century and even later) according to modern usage, using *u* for the vowel and *v* for the consonant, in order to simplify legitimately the reading, and because there seems to be no dialectal significance in the interchangeability of these two letters; (3) to separate consistently, in such forms as *alo*, *delo* and *alezere*, *alacrimare*, the preposition, whenever it seems to be actually a preposition, from the following article or verb; (4) to resolve *cũ* consistently as *cun*, though this MS uses *cun* and *cuz* interchangeably; (5) to provide punctuation, in accordance with modern usage and for the sake of clearness, including apostrophes, but excluding accents; (6) to capitalize, or omit capitalization, according to punctuation and modern usage; (7) to leave all other peculiarities, such as strange and inconsistent spellings, etc., exactly as in the original.

This task has sometimes been difficult because the text, apparently the work of a scribe both ignorant and careless, is full of inconclusive sentences, of constructions quite innocent of syntax. As a result, short, detached, rather aimless sentences could not be avoided without taking unwarranted liberties with the text.

Another problem was whether to present this text as verse or prose. Though the original appears to be, especially in the beginning, in a loose form of verse, with occasional linear spacing customary to verse, and with verse endings which are at times obviously related by rhyme

or assonance, it soon abandons such spacing, leaving the versification so very indefinite as to be frequently doubtful. It seems proper, therefore, to present this version in the form of prose, relegating the discussion of its versification to Part IV.

It seems also unnecessary to mark with a vertical stroke the end of each line in the MS, with two the end of each page, and to italicize all resolutions. But, as the transcription has been at times rather baffling, I have italicized those letters that seemed really doubtful, and have explained the more difficult transcriptions in footnotes. Such explanations, once made, are not repeated when the same difficulty recurs.

II. "ISTORIA SANCTI ALLEXI"

O Re de gloria altissimo Signore, padre celestiale e dolze salvatore, a lo vostro nome voyo dire uno sermone de Alexio, quello verzene confessore. Sancto Alexio fo alto Romano, fiolo che lo de lo sancto Re Flumiano. Per lo so nome el fo glorificado; signore de Roma el padre fo giamato. El vene tempo che sposa ge dete, fiola de uno Re e de uno richo parentado. Alexio la tolse e non ge fo agrato; le noze fono grande e bene aparechiate, asay ge corse zente de Roma e de ognia parte, cavaleri e done e zigolari, poveri e richi ge vene per manzare. Si como sede a homo de tale affare, la sova dona fo venuta, la corte fo bandita. La zentil dona in soa camera andava. Su in uno biancho leto la dona se asentava, cuz ly soy mane tre volte se segnava, e poy se racomando a Dio e a Sancta Maria, e a Sancto Alexio lo corpo spirituale, como richamente lo avea vestito lo so padre. Ne per quele veste belle may non se vose alegrare. Intro lo so core se prese a humiliare. Su in uno biancho scrigno¹ se misse a sedere; batesse le soy palme e disse: "Oy me lasso! Como grando peccato fece lo mio patre. Quando el me dete dona el non me fo agrato, a lo sancto sepolcro che me era avodato de servire XV anni in castitade. Se yo non ge vo za sonto condempnato." La soa dona lo oldite, e comenzo a parlare e disse: "O sposo mio reale, que² aveti che tanto ve plurate? Se el non ve piace bene lo mio afare, che non sia yo dona zentile e tale, fa me condure a casa de lo mio padre." E Alexio ge respose dolzamente: "Non pianzi ne pluri per vui, dona mia. Anzi pluri questa mia dolia che yo feci uno voto

¹ The *i* is superscribed, as often. The *r* or the tilde is carelessly omitted, as often also.

² Resolved from *q̃*.

a Dio e a Sancta Maria de andare a lo sancto sepolcro per aquistare la anima mia. E se non ge vo¹ salvare non me poray miga." Respose la dona: "E vo ben conseiare. Grando² homo e richo e lo vostro padre. Asai ve portara de l'oro e de li dinari a fare³ alevare giesie e hospitali, e de lo vostro avere farne grande caritade.⁴ A quello modo ben ve poriti salvare." Ancor parla la dona e dissege questo: "O Alexio, como e lo mio corpo tristo.⁵ Se ti ne volevi diventare frate ne remito, de la casa de lo mio patre per che me despartistii.⁶ Lo matrimonio ordena Yesu Cristo.⁷ Sancto Petro ben tolse moiere, e ben se trova sancto.⁸ E mo el porta le chiave del paradiso." Respose allora Alexio naturale: "Lo matrimonio e bono e sancto. Ma feci uno voto, unde che rompere⁹ non deveria, de andare a lo sancto sepolcro oltre lo mare, servire XV¹⁰ anni in castitade. Chi i¹¹ serve a Dio za mai non lo perderae." "De" disse Alexio, "dona mia naturale, andare ge voria per vostra voluntade, e ve imprometo per la fede mia, de tuti li beni che debio fare partire voyo voscho per mistade." La dona comenzo¹² a parlare e pianzando la ge diseva: "O Alexio, degna persona mia, le toy parole me ano cosi adolzita, servire voyo a Dio e a Sancta Maria, e ve prometo¹³ in lianza mia, che in castitade staro a tuta via. E altro marito non prendero in vita mia, e de drapy de colori za may non me vestiray, se tu mi prometi¹⁴ per la fede che tu¹⁴ ay che in fra XV anni a my tornaray." Alexio allora ge respose: "Che questo ben faray, se el piace a Dio e a la soa sancta madre." E Sancto Alexio se alegrava molto de quele parole che la soa dona ge diseva. E trase la vesta de panno de oro

¹ Tilde over o might be resolved into *vol* or *von*.

² Might be *grande*. Cf. *grande* 2 lines below.

³ The *a*, which is joined to *fare*, seems prepositional; in the following word it is doubtful.

⁴ Here there is a canceled capital *D*—scribal error at end of line.

⁵ *Tsto* with *i* superscribed. Apparently tilde was omitted.

⁶ First *i* has a dot, second has not. *ii?*

⁷ Usual abbreviation for *Jesu Cristo* or *Christo*.

⁸ Might be *scrito*, as superscribed stroke between *c* and *t* might be either *i* or tilde. *Sancto* is written either as *Scto* or *sio*.

⁹ Resolved from *ropre*, with tilde under *p*.

¹⁰ Looks as if scribe had started writing "XVII" and then corrected it to "XV."

¹¹ *ch*, with clear tilde over *h*, followed by separate *i*.

¹² *o* or *a?* Probably *o*.

¹³ *Pro* or *per?* Sense suggests *pro*.

¹⁴ Word blotted.

che luy aveva, e lo capello e li guanti e doli¹ a la soa dona in salvo, e poy dolzamente ge disseva: "De toli e salveli, e a la mia retornata renderameli in cortesia." E la dona le tolse baxandoli, e messili in uno bello scrigno,² e poy lo recomendo a Dio e a Sancta Maria. E a lo partire con le soe mane ela ge daseva lo anello donde che sposata la aveva, digandoge: "Signore mio, per lo mio amore voy lo portariti, e quando vuy veniriti a my lo dariti, e a questo segno bene lo cognoserai." E Alexio ge respose: "Ben ve possiti da my fidare. Ben ve o prometuto pur da voy tornare in fra XV anni, se Dio me guarde da male." E cuz li soy ogy comenzo a lacrimare.³ E Alexio se ne partite e a dona ge romase. E Sancto Alexio cumiado da la dona prendiva, bordonno in mane e in dosso una schiavina, scarsella al collo e dolzamente luy diseva: "E prego Dio e la Verzene Maria che ne manda bona compagnia, che e passia oltre lo mare in tera de Soria. E lo vodo che o fato compier⁴ voria. E Sancto Alexio se misse in via andare, e in lo inimico che el fo incontrato, lo quale ge disse: "O Alexio desviado, tu lassi stare lo bene e lo male vay a zerchare. De questo mondo tu ne poy avere solazo,⁵ manzare e beber e bella dona da lo lato. Or torna in dreto e non essere mato." E Alexio ge respose incontinente, e dissige: "O amico tu parli matamente; chi non serve a Dio in questo mondo ben po essere dolente. Lo corpo more e li vermi stano gaudenty, e la anima fi portata a lo fogo ardente. Chi serve a Dio e al padre omnipotente,⁶ lo corpo more e la anima sta lucente, e corona avera da li anzei servienti de Dio." E lo inimico ancora parla digando: "O Alexio, ancora altro te volio dire. Se la fortuna de lo mare te trova, quando tu serai intrato tu ge moriray, e non poray schampare. E ancora se li sassini te trova che stano⁷ in quele parte, eli te robarano e si te occiderano.⁸ Or torna in dreto e fa como savio." E Sancto Alexio ancora ge parla.

¹ Second letter blotted, because corrected. Very probably *doli*.

² See p. 339, n. 1.

³ By a superscribed *i* or vertical tilde the scribe apparently meant the *r* to be understood between *c* and *i*; see *scrigno*, *scrito*.

⁴ Usual tilde for *r* or *re*.

⁵ Little stroke superscribed between *s* and *o* may mean either duplication of the *s* or insertion of an *i*.

⁶ (sic) *pfe oïpte*. This might be *patre*, but *padre* has already been used in this MS.

⁷ *Stao*: tilde might stand for double *n*, which, however, is not probable in this dialectal text.

⁸ First four letters are blotted.

"Adoncha e tu lo inimico che me vole inganare. Chi serve a Dio de bona voluntade, lo corpo more e la anima va in vita eterna. Ni perzo non voyo anchora in dreto tornare. Lassato ho padre e madre e la mia cara moyere; arbandonato ho richeze e grando avere; per lo amore de Dio granda pena voyo soffrire." E lo inimico partise de Alexio cun falcita, e va a Roma da la moyere. Curti a li drapy e lo capello in testa, lanza in mane e uno cortello a lo lato. Et e anda a Roma e non fu demorato. E Alflumiano¹ albergo che el a domandato e inanzi a la dona che el fu inzenogiato. E in zenogione se misse quello maligno e falcitade ge disse a grando inzegno. "Saluto ve manda el Re Marsiliano. Saluto ve manda a voy Flumiano e a lo fiolo. El e venuto novele² e scriti che el ve a donato uno zentile marito." Allora la dona cuz pianto trasse uno grando sospiro, digando: "Granda maraveglia me dago de lo mio padre, che data me a a uno signore zentile e tale, e meiore de luy non poria trovare. De fina che yo non vedesse uno segno e tale, zoe lo richo anello de lo quale luy me sposa." E lo maligno ge respone digando: "E ve imprometo in veritade che zo de questo albergo may non andaray." E lo inimigo alegro se fasiva de quele parole che la dona ge aveva dito, e poy da ley se parte e intro in chamino. E chamino piu tosto che sagitta de archio, e denanzi a uno porto che el se buto amalato, schiavina in dosso e lo collo a lo ligato, li brazi negri e nudi, e lo capo a lo vulnerato, uno ogio a lo negro e l'altro a lo inflato, e de molti mainere el se fece amalato. E sora a uno bordono che el se torzeva e si se fineva esser for amalato. E in ela via in Alexio che elo fo incontrato, zitasse in tera e folo acolegato, molto *lagrimoso*³ che el se fasea. E Alexio vene sopra⁴ questo mastino; e si lo guarda e poy ge disse: "O bello amico, quala e la via de lo nostro chamino? Cuz malamente me pareti in baylito." E questo mastino ge respone digando: "El e quaranta anni che o servito a Dio. Da lo sepulcro pur adesso yo sonto partito. Lo mio viazo anchora non l'o compito. Li sassini si me ano robato, e poi⁵ si me ano ferito. Tolto me ano li dinari, o lasso mi topino! E cosi farani a vuy che siti fantino. Te so bene

¹ Scribal error possibly combining *Eufamiano* (which appears later) and *Flumiano*.

² Probably *novele* with first *e* omitted, in which case the *sc̃ti* with superscribed *i* must stand for *scriti*, to make sense.

³ *grimoso*: Must be an omission of *la* for *lagrimoso*.

⁴ Here tilde obviously stands for *ra*, as it does in *quaranta*, three lines below.

⁵ The *poi* is small and superscribed.

certare che tu non poray scampare. Certo palmer ha tu oro ho dinary?" Disse lo palmere: "Non ho se non quello che Dio me a lassato, zoe uno richo anello che io ho, e chi me lo tollesse ben yo seria gramo. Ma quello isteso crezo bene che yo te lo daro, per amore de Dio e in *sancia*¹ caritade, se tu me prometi la fede che tu ay, lo richo anello a la mia moiere che tu lo daray. Per lo mio amore grandò honore ela te fara, bene te a la vestire e meyo calzare. E per lo mio amore ben la debi confortare, e che da lo inimico non se lasi inganare; e che la debi servire a Dio in bona castitade." E questo ge rrespose: "Tosto questo ben faray. Myor messo de my non poristu trovare. E sontò amalato e ancora presto² me sento fresco. E tosto ben ge andaro da poy che io te l'o impromesso." E allora Alexio ge dete lo anelo³ e quello se n'ande asay presto, e corse a Roma in la hora de lo vespro. La barba ha longa e biancha questo mastino; e denanzy a la dona ge fece uno bello inchino e dissige: "Dona zentile intendi questo tapino. In porto de mare trovay uno peligrino, Alexio a nome, e disse che el e vostro marito. Per lo grandò caldo e per lo forto chamino de la soa persona me pareva forto smarito, e per la granda calura e per lo forto viazo el era amalato, e penitencia prendeva. E lo patriarcha⁴ si lo absolvea de ogni peccato⁵ e de lo voto che fato luy aveva. Elo dice che vuy li mandati e *tigare*⁶ non ve desiti, li drapi e lo capelo e li guanti che el ve de⁷ in vostra baylia, che lo padre e la madre non savea miga." Allora la dona rrespose digado⁸ cun sospiri: "O pelegirino, o amico, o dolze fratele mio, me pari vechio e non lo avere per male. Questo viazo non lo poristu fare." Responde quello misero e fello: "Dona zentile, de guarda questo segno. Non n'e chavalero ne donzelo, ben che io sia vechio, se yo el voyo fare, che me possa *tegre*⁹ con mego. Impero che yo so cossi le strate, le vie e le zapele." La guarda allora quello segno, e ela cogosete lo anello che era tanto bello. Et ella ge dete le guanti, la vesta

¹ Looks at first like *soa*, but has a tilde on the *a*. Doubtful but probable.

² Tilde resolved into *p e*. Same word is written entirely two lines below.

³ In right margin pointing to this word is drawn a little hand.

⁴ Resolved from *priarcha*.

⁵ Resolved from *pcto*.

⁶ A sign like an *i* is superscribed after the first letter. The letters *igare* are very clear. Word incomprehensible.

⁷ The *de* is added above. Probably *de* for *dete*, as used on p. 344, l. 4.

⁸ Tilde over *a* carelessly omitted.

⁹ *Tegre* with *i* superscribed over *g*? Actual letters very clear. Possibly for *tegnire*. The following *con* is abbreviated and superscribed.

e lo capello. E lo inimico se ne parte molto alegro. E vassene da Alexio, e si ge disse: "O palmero, una donzella e messa in mala via. Ela fa lo peccato¹ a chaduno che a ley se inclina. Pur in questa note el ave in mia baylia. A lo partire cun le soy mane ela me dete li drapi e li guanti e lo capello che servare te desiva. Se tu no lo credi, guarda qua la certisia." Alexio li guarda e bene le cognosceva. Levolo el pugno e in verso² lo pecto se feria, cun lacrime e con suspiry in dredo tornare voleva. "De," disse Alexio, "in chi me donte³ fidare? Como grando peccato⁴ fece lo mio padre. El me dete dona e non fu de mia voluntade. La donzella me de stare in castitade. Se ela fa peccato e io n'o grando dolore e mortale. Per questa granda dolia in dreto tornare voria. Ma Dio dal celo non voyo abandonare." Per uno sancto anzele Dio si l'a mandato che ge disse: "O Alexio *spirituale*,⁵ sta de bono core e non te dubitare, che la donzella e in bona castitade. El e lo inimico che te vole inganare." E alora sancto Alexio fo molto confortado, e comenzo a laudare Dio digando: "Laudato sia Dio gloriosso⁶ che a voy servo in la bona hora." E alora sancto Alexio se messe in via per andare a lo sancto sepolcro e non fece demoranza. Quando che luy fo arivato a lo sancto sepolcro, in zenogione se misse basando li pey cun devotione. E molto pianzeva la morte de lo nostro Signore. Pizeni e grandi lacrimava per so amore, per pietade che avevano de questo fantino. Tanto ge stete che Dio ge mostrava infermi, zopi e assidrati che elo sanava, e tanto ge stete cun piace a Dio pare,⁷ che lo anzele da celo ge vene a parlare, digando: "O Alexio, o corpo spirituale, Cristo⁸ te manda e la dolcissima madre che te debio annunciare che de la tua dona tu te debia arecordare, e de la fidanza che tu ge promettesse. In mane bene e XV anni e uno mese passato. Ben e ragione che tu debi da ley retornare." Alexio lo aldi e comenzo a parlare digando: "O alto Dio che volse per noy morire e per noy granda pena

¹ Cf. p. 343, n. 5.

² *Uso*—very clear, with vertical tilde over u.

³ Lettering clear. Possibly by analogy with *sonte*?

⁴ Cf. n. 1 above.

⁵ Clearly *spuale*—I conjecture *spirituale*. This word appeared before. Cf. p. 339, l. 12, but not abbreviated; cf. 12 lines below, where identical abbreviation occurs after the noun *corpo*.

⁶ *Gliosso*; with tilde across the l, standing for *or*.

⁷ *Ho* is clear, rest is not.

⁸ *Pare* for *padre*.

⁹ Usual *Xpo*, cf. p. 340, n. 7.

sofrire, zo fu per noi peccatori redimere. A lo molimento ve fasevo¹ sepelire, poy resuscitasevo lo terzo dy. O cum² questo e vero senza mentire. Per pietade uno dono ve voio domandare. De poy che el ve piace che in dredo debio retornare a la mia casa, tal vita voria fare, impero che lo mio pare³ e la mia madre ne la mia dona non me cognoscesse, per che non me la lassaria fare. Mio pare³ e richo homo⁴ e altro fiolo non alo. E in pero la vita che io voria fare non me la lassarevano fare." E allora lo anzele ge response: "Ogna bona grazia⁵ Alexio tu l'averay. Beata⁶ sia la madre che t'a portato in el corpo." E sancto Alexio oldi la sancta voxe, e vene al sancto sepulcro denanzi a la sancta crose, e a zinogy nudi in terra⁷ se misse, e la crose se li fece inclino per voler luy bazare. Allora Alexio dete laude a Dio e a la soa cara madre, e po tolse cumiato. E vene a lo mare e in barcha introlo, sonno⁸ ge vene, e follo adromenzado. E Dio da celo ge manda uno marinaio, e quando vene in la maitina a lo porto de⁹ Roma che el se trova arivato. Como dolzamente Alexio ge dormia sono matutino e non lo aldiva, ben gera viso che passato lo mare aveva. Bene regracio lo Dio e la Verzene Maria de po che el fu desedato, che li muray de Roma¹⁰ che luy vedeva. In uno tal segno ognia homo¹¹ se de fidare; pur ery de novo intrey in¹² questa nave in pagania, mo sonto in cristianitade.¹³ Zitasse in tera in zinogione e li regracio Dio e la soa mare,¹⁴ e basando la tera cuz devotione. E poy se misse in chamino, azonse a uno tby¹⁵ unde el trovo uno pelegrino. Doy chiave aveva in mane e una crose de ora fino. E quello domando: "O belo amigo, quala e la

¹ *Faseasevo*, apparently careless repetition of *se*.

² *Cū*; sense here suggests *cum* for *come*.

³ Cf. p. 344, n. 8.

⁴ *Hō*—for *homo*.

⁵ *grā*—very clear.

⁶ *Bīa*.

⁷ Either *terra* or *tera*.

⁸ *Sōno*; second letter blotted, with clear tilde; resolution conjectural, but cf. two lines below where *sono* is very clear, without tilde.

⁹ The *de* is written twice—apparently scribal error.

¹⁰ *De Roma* is added in below and in the margin almost on a level with following line.

¹¹ *hō* might be resolved into *hora*, but *homo* makes better sense. This resolution is corroborated below on p. 346, l. 16; p. 347, l. 13.

¹² The *in* is written twice, obviously scribal error.

¹³ Usual abbreviation for *Crist*. Again query as to *Chr* or *Cr*.

¹⁴ Obviously for *madre*; cf. similarly *pare* for *padre*.

¹⁵ Little vertical sign above between *t* and *b* thus *tby*. The *t*, *b*, and *y* are perfectly normal. Resolution difficult; word incomprehensible.

via de lo drito chamino de andare a Roma da lo apostolo sancto Petro?" E cun bona lianza e von a servire a Dio. E allora intrambi doy se misse in via e in compagnia.¹ Queli sancti corpi che tanto resplendiva; piu che stelle la soa faza luseva, e li arbori molto se inclinava. E quando Alexio vite questo miraculo, li pey de lo pelegirino che basare voleva. E Alexio comenzo a dire cun dolceza: "Sancta persona aldi questo peccatore,² che chiave e quelli che vuy a lo vostro galare,³ e chiave de qual signore, e de quale porte de Roma siti vuy signore e guardatore.⁴ Piasesse a Dio che io fusse vostro servitore." Qua dolzamente respose lo pelegirino: "Non te arecordaretu de quello pelegirino che te drizo la via e lo chamino? Queste sono le chiave de uno nobile zardino. E dentro ge alberga sancto Piero divino. La gloria e li anzoli e cherubini corona te ano inprestado in paradisso." Or lo segna e da luy fo partito, e Sancto Alexio fo molto confortado del bono messo che Dio ge a mandato, e vassene a Roma a quella⁵ citade. E a nesuno homo⁶ non se voleva desmonstrare, a lo padre ne a la madre ne a la dona che lo avevano aspetado. E in mezo de la via in el padre che luy fo incontrado e lo Eufemiano, quello nobel chavalero, si chavalchava a uno nobelle zardino. E in mezo de la via se incontro in quello pelegirino, e Alexio si ge fece uno bello inclino, e lo padre ge disse: "O fratelo mio, veniti⁷ voy oltra lo mare a servire a Dio." E molto se alegra digando: "Saristu quello corpo mio, de uno mio fiolo, e altro non avea, el e XV anni e uno mese complito che el se parti da mi, o lasso my tapino.⁸ Me saristu⁹ dire se el e morto o vivo? La mader pianze e la dona soa lo aspeta. Et yo n'o dolore e si ne porto granda pena e grameza. Bene sono XV anni che el non me vite. Se al e al mondo ben me dago granda meraveglia." Responde lo peligrino cun pietade: "De lo vostro fiolo e ve diro la veritade. Cuz luy feci lo in-

¹ *Cōpaḡa*—the superscribed *i* apparently made it impossible to put the tilde.

² *pīore*, as before.

³ *Galā* or *galāe*, the first *a* is blotted, but has an *a* plainly superscribed; the tilde is over the second *a*. Resolution difficult. The sentence does not make much sense.

⁴ The last two letters are blotted, but resolution is very probably correct.

⁵ *Qīa*. Resolved with *ll* because double *l* is common in that word in this MS, though cf. l. 10.

⁶ Cf. p. 345, n. 11.

⁷ *Veīti*, might be either *veniti* or *veriti*.

⁸ Second letter is totally blotted. This word has appeared before as *topino*, cf. p. 342, last line.

⁹ Sign for dot on first stroke of last letter. Probably an error.

verno¹ e la istade; cuz luy o bevuto e manzato; cuz luy intrei in una nave, e questo ge oldy dire spesse fiade, che elo voleva venire a lo padre e a la madre e a la dona che tanto l'ano aspetado. Inanzi che el sia uno mese voy el vederiti. De, dame albergo per bona caritade." Disse² lo Eufemiano: "Bene te lo daray per amore de Dio e in sancta caritade. Cossy Dio lo dia a lo mio fiolo, onde che el se trove. Cristo si me lo mandia se al e³ de soa voluntade." E lo Eufemiano desmonta da cavalo, e prestamente anda da lo pelegirino, e brazi al colo che el ge butava, e per amore de lo so fiolo trey volte lo baxava. E poy si lo pilia per la mane e de sopra lo menava a uno so nobel zardino, e li ge fece molto bene aparechiare da manzare e da bere e de molte inbandissone. E po ge dise: "Manzati, bello amico. Bene e XV anni e uno messo complito che non manzai may con homo cossi de bon core, se non cun Alexio dolzo fiolo mio." Respose lo pelegirino cuz pietade: "E non sonto usato a queste dignitade. Quando ho lo vino molte volte me mancha lo pane; lo misero corpo si a⁴ questa natura;⁵ se el a ben da cena el vorave meglio da disnare, e de la anima tapina pocho se ne cura.⁶ Quello e thesoro che a la anima plu vale: servire a Dio e a la soa madre." E lo Eufemiano ge respose saviamente, e disse: "Palmer manza alegramente, e de lo mio fiolo dime novella. Quando e te guardo sempre e me ne arecordero. Per lo suo amore se el ge ne venise docento ge daria manzare e bere⁷ e vestimente." Respose lo pelegirino cun pietade e disse: "Signore mio, non ve desconfortadi. Inanzi che sia lo di de natale in questo albergo voy el vederiti spesse fiade. Dame albergo in sancta caritade. Per amor de Alexio in preson voyo stare; una chamera me fariti voy fare pur la soto a ly pey de la vostra scala; e a tal tenore me voglio zudigare, V⁸ onze de aqua e trey de pane. Per zascaduno zorno altro non voio manzare." E lo Eufemiano a pena⁹ che

¹ *verno*—vertical tilde is frequent in this text. Word abbreviated also because at end of line. Context makes *inverno* certain.

² The *i* slightly blotted.

³ Actually *seale* or *se ale*, probably error for *se el e*.

⁴ *Sia* is written in one word. Sense suggests division into two words.

⁵ Resolved from *nata*—with double tilde between *t* and *a*. Sense also suggests *natura*.

⁶ As the second letter is hopelessly blotted I can only surmise it to be an *o* or *u*. Note possible rhyme with *natura*, and good sense made by *cura*.

⁷ Corrected from *bessere*.

⁸ V, obviously numeral.

⁹ A *pena*, in two separate words.

el po parlare, e pocho amancha che e non chazi strangossato. La madre non ge possea durare, e a li pey de lo pelegirino se asentau la alta regina. La lo guardava e non lo cogosseva.¹ La barba ha longa e le carne negre. Quando elo anda a lo sepolcro niente aveva. Elo somiava a una rosa fiorita. Ben se atrova per scripto che solo XII² anni aveva. La dona guarda lo pelegirino. E elo tuta hora teniva lo capo inclino, che el non voleva che nessuno lo cognossesse. La dona lo guarda e sy comenzo a parlare: "Quela vostra testa lavare ve voria, e quella vostra barba radere ve faria; darve veste e camise e mutanda³ e fazoli e altra draparia per amor de Alexio quello dolzo fiolo⁴ mio." Responde⁵ Alexio: "Questo non⁶ voio miga." Disse Alexio: "Questo non voio fare. Dona zentile, non l'abi per male, per lo alto Dio lo qualle⁷ e iusto signore. Su la crose per noy che luy volse penare; le mane e le pey che se lasso inchiodare; e la soa barba zamay non se la fece rasare, e per lo so amore la mia voio portare." Allora la dona ge response: "De dime, palmer, che Dio te bendica,⁸ de lo mio fiolo me ne saverestu dire novela? E altro fiolo non⁹ n'a questa tapina. Oy my lassa, se el vedesse pur una fiada, da poy la morte non me doleria. O quanto el piango, oy lassa my tapina, de lo mio fiolo me ne saverestu dire novella? El me a lassato una verzene ponzela, che e pura e neta de la persona sua. Lo suo conforto si me a tenuta viva. El ge promesse pur da ley tornare." Respose lo pelegirino cun grevi suspiry, e disse: "Dona zentile, or mi intendi per lo alto Dio che se lasso morire. De lo vostro fiolo e ve ne diro novella e lo vero. Cuz quello Alexio o manzato e bevuto, e spesse fiade questo ge aldi dire, che elo¹⁰ voleva pur da vuy venire¹¹ a vedere lo so pare e

¹ Note absence of *n* after *g*. Probably scribal omission, for the *n* is usually inserted in the same word; see four lines below.

² The "X" is very plain; next letter may be a *v* for "5," though not like the other "v's," or two strokes for a "2," making "12."

³ *Muda*. *Mutanda* seems the only plausible interpretation.

⁴ There is here an *s* scratched out with the usual cross-mark X; obvious scribal error.

⁵ *Rnde*, perfectly clear, with peculiar tilde over *n*. Resolution is conjectural, but very probable, especially in connection with the words that follow.

⁶ Just *n*.

⁷ *Q'ille*—I don't believe, however, that there can be any doubt. End of line also accounts for abbreviation.

⁸ Plainly *bndica*. Note that tilde stands for *s* instead of *n*. But is it *ben* or *bene*? End of line.

⁹ Just *n*.

¹⁰ The *o* is blotted, but I do not think it can be anything else, unless *e*.

¹¹ The *s nire* is very clear; the second letter is badly made, so that it may be *a*, *o*, or *e*—sense obviously indicates *e*.

la soa mare e la moiere che tanto lo a aspeta.¹ E ve prometo innanzi che el sia doy mesi in questo albergo voy lo vederiti." Allora la dona se zito a li pey de lo pelegrino e inzenogosse,² le mane e li pey che ley voleva bassare. E lo pelegrino non se vosse lassare tohare, e tuti pianzeva per soa caridade. E allora lo Eufemiano ge fece fare una camerela pur la soto a li pey de la soa scala, cossi streta e cossi larga che appena el podesse acolegarse. E V onze de aqua e trey de pane per caduno zorno altro non volea manzare. In fina che Alexio in quello albergo stara, VII anni quella vita fara, in fina che lo anzeło da celo ge vene a dire: "O Alexio, corpo benedeto, Cristo te manda, ancora te lo dico. Chiamate in colpa e sey ben pentito. Leva le mane trey volte e si te segna lo viso." E elo in verso l'oriente elo fo inzenochiato. Cuz le soy mane trey volte che el se segna, dicando: "O dolze *Cristu*,³ voy siti regratiato. Messo de lo celo e de Dio, merce ve voyo domandare. Uno pocho de spacio volio che me donati. Scrivere volio uno brevo che voyo lassare, che el non me cognò⁴ lo mio pare ne la mia mare ne la mia moliere che tanto me ano aspettato. E per questo brevo eli me cognoscerano." E poy Alexio se segna lo viso trey volte, e a zenogi nudi in terra se misse. Lo corpo more e l'anima fi portada in vita eterna. Quello sancto corpo, quando fu strepassato, questa prima vertude Dio per luy si facea, che tute le campane non cessava de sonare. E sonono per Roma e per questa granda citade, cuz zo sia cossa che nesuno non le tochava. E per Sancto Alexio Cristo si lo faceva. E tuta la zente se meraveiava che cosi dolzamente le capana oldivano da loro sonare, e per questo miracolo l'uno cun l'altro se daseva la pace. E questo sancto corpo per Roma lo vano zerchando, e questo corpo sancto non lo atrovono, ne lo sano atrovare. E le campane non cala de sonare, e a lo padre sancto vano ad annunciare. E lo sancto padre forte comenzo a parlare, digando: "Signory, per Dio si me ascoltati. Questo si e uno sancto corpo chi e strapassato. E uno grando miracolo si me pare che le campane no cessa de sonare. Se alcuno de voy avesse albergato pelegrino o infermo o povero, andate a cerchare che el non sia partito de questo mondo. E lo Eufemiano denanzi a lo padre sancto

¹ Typical scribal error for *aspetato* (or *do*).

² The *in* may be written separately.

³ Interpretation *Jesu Christu* or just *Cristu* is probable, in spite of excessive abbreviation, also due to end of line.

⁴ Syllable omitted; probably stands for *cognosc.* . . .

staseva, e ge respose: "Io o albergato za e VII anni fa uno soto a li pey de la mia scalla. Pur ery lo viti che era de bona volia. Ben me disse che el se volea tosto partire. Tristo lo mio core se io non ge debio a trovare.¹ E lo Eufemiano non demorava miga cun lo degno papa; se misse in via li gardenali cun l'altra chieresia, quello a chi pare in testa corona divina. La sancta croce denanzi a loro veniva, con li dolzi canti che li anzei fasiva, la unde quello sancto corpo zaseva. E quando lo degno papa² fo a li pey de la scala, questa sancta³ vertude Dio si desmostrava, che le asse per sy se deschioldava. E grandio olimento per la contrata andava. E li anzei de Dio acercho a luy stava, e in zenogione stava quello sancto corpo cun lo brevo in mane. E tute le campane non cessava de sonare. E quello sancto corpo non portare a sepolire, per la granda multitudin de zente che era venuti per vedere. Allora uno de li savi homeni a lo sancto padre comenzo a parlare, digando: "Padre sancto, facciamo portare de li dinari, e poy ly ziteremo per le piazze, e a lo popolo⁴ correrà per acogliere. E cosi la nostra via la poremo fare, e lo sancto corpo poriti sepolire." E cosi feceno, e quello sancto corpo in la giesia de Roma feceno portare in uno chaderleto de fino oro lavorato. Ancora dico che non havevano luy cognossuto. Allora lo degno papa prima da luy fo andato, e a li pey de lo pelegrino si se inzenochiava, como dolzamente a luy si ge domandava: "Oy pelegrino che fossevo oltra lo mare, e ve sconzuro per quello Dio che ve a creato, che me dati lo brevo che aviti in la vostra mane; zo che ve dico or che lo voiati fare." E lo sancto astrenze lo breve, e non ge lo⁵ vole dare. E lo Eufemiano luy in stesso ge andava, cuz intrambi li ogy che luy lacrimava, e a li pey de lo pelegrino che⁶ el se inzenochiava, de lo suo fiolo che el se arecordava, como dolzamente che al ge domandava: "Oy pelegrino che fossevo oltra⁷ lo mare, e te sconzuro per quello Dio che te⁸ a creato, dame lo brevo che ay in la tova mane. Zo che te dico or tu lo voyo fare." E lo sancto

¹ Question whether it is a *trovare*, or all in one word as ten lines above.

² First appearance of this abbreviated form, plainly *p̄p*.

³ Note *d* instead of *t*.

⁴ *pplo*—note absence of tilde for missing *o.o*.

⁵ Between *lo* and *vole* there is a superscribed *t* apparently canceled.

⁶ The *che* is repeated; obviously scribal error.

⁷ Tilde might be resolved as either *re* or *ra*, but cf. six lines above.

⁸ The *t* is blotted, but not doubtful.

astrenze lo breve e non ge lo vole dare. Or¹ la dona de le Flumiano ge andava. E a li pey de lo pelegirino che la se inzenogiava, como dolzamente² la ge domandava: "Oy pelegirino, dolza vita mia. Sete³ anni siti voy stato in casa mia; vostra penitentia l'avite⁴ bene complita. Non me pensava che fossevo de tanta doctrina.⁵ Datime lo brevo che aviti in la vostra mane; zo che ve dico or che lo voiате fare." E lo sancto astrenze lo breve e non ge lo vole dare. "De," disse lo sancto papa, "in noy grando peccato che questo brevo a noy non lo vole dare. Vegna una verzene de castitade, e domandia⁶ lo brevo cuz pietade. Forse Dio vorave che a ley ge lo darave." Allora la nora de lo Flumiano veniva, e in zenochioni che ella se meteva, digando: "O alto Dio, fiolo de Sancta Maria, voiati⁷ alegrare lo core a questa tapina. Uno in sonio m'e venuto in questa maitina; lo mio sposo Alexio che luy veniva; una carta in mane che luy portava. A nesuno homo ne dona dare lo volea, se non a my che era soa verzene e sposa. Saristu questo, o dolza vita mia?" Pizini e grandi lacrimare fasiva. E la donzella zen-tile si saveva cosi ben parlare, e a li pey de lo pelegirino che la se inzenochiava, como dolzamente la ge domandava, digando: "Oy pelegirino che fossevo oltra lo mare, e⁸ ve sconzuro per quello Dio che v'a creato, e per quella sancta via che vuy fecisti, e per quelli sancti che vuy adorasti, e per quello bordono che vuy portasti⁹ in mane, per quella sancta palma che al collo portasti, dame¹⁰ lo brevo che voy aviti in la vostra mane. Zo che io ve dico or che lo voiati fare." E lo sancto aslarga la mane, e si ge lo dete. E la donzela cuz dovotione si lo dete a lo sancto papa. E lo sancto padre lo comenzo a lezere, e lezandolo comenzo a lacrimare, digando: "O bona zente non ve desconfortadi. Questo e lo nostro signore naturale.¹¹ Questo si e Alexio che nuy cre-

¹ Initial letter doubtful. It looks more like an *M* than an *O*, though the latter would make far better sense.

² There is a double *s*, the second imperfect and canceled.

³ The second *s* is somewhat elaborate, but still an *s*.

⁴ *la vite*.

⁵ Resolved from *doctna*, with *i* superscribed between *t* and *n*.

⁶ Plainly superscribed *i* between *d* and *a*.

⁷ Plainly superscribed *o* between *v* and *i*.

⁸ *E* is repeated, second time capitalized.

⁹ Scribe had written *portasta*; the last three letters are blotted, and a clear *sti* is superscribed. The former *a* is clear, through the blot.

¹⁰ Over the *a* there is a peculiar tilde. *Dame* is evidently the logical word, but the spelling might possibly be *damme*.

¹¹ *Natale*, with tilde between *t* and *a*. Word occurs at end of line.

demo che sia oltra lo mare." Respose la madre: "Questo non credo. Che se el fusse Alexio, quello dolze fiolo mio, oy me tapina¹ viva non fosse." E poy disse: "O fiolo mio reale, sete anni ey stato pur soto² a li pey de la toa scalla, e nesuna cognoscencia non me ay tu may data. Oy me grama my, dolorossa my, che tu me ay cosi arbandonata. E quando tu eri soto a la tova scala li toy servi si te zitava ogni immundicia ogna zorno sopra de ti. E si te sbeffava, e si te facevano ogna inzuria, e si li sostenivi. Che te abiamo fato, e perche n'a tu³ fato questo; per che ey tu stato cosi crudele in verso⁴ de noy, che tu vedevi el tuo padre e mi misera ogna hora pianzere, e may tu non te volesi a noy monstrare! Oy me lassa, che per ti lo regname de questo mundo lo perderay. Amen.⁵

Quatro sancti e sancte sono de una casa e per Sancto Alexio sono tuti salvi, Deo Gratias.⁶

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¹ The *n*, apparently, became so blotted that the scribe placed a tilde over the *i*.

² *Soto* is superscribed and very small.

³ *natu*.

⁴ Bold resolution of *u*—note that abbreviations are inevitable because the scribe is trying to end on this page. The last two lines are written on margin below.

⁵ Peculiar, decorative *n*, which he uses to finish off with.

⁶ *Gras*—usual abbreviation.

ABBOT ÆLFRIC'S RHYTHMIC PROSE

Occurring sporadically in several of his works, and fixing itself as a stylistic habit in his third series of homilies, the use of alliteration by Ælfric of Eynsham has long been a puzzle to the scholars who have interested themselves in that great teacher of the tenth century. The alliteration is there for anyone to see, but the principle by which Ælfric was guided and the nature of the effect produced have remained rather shadowy.

Without reviewing in detail the opinions that have been expressed in regard to the matter, which would be profitless in view of the solution I am going to suggest, it should be said that scholars have either stated somewhat cautiously their belief that Ælfric was writing rhythmic prose,¹ or have inclined with equal hesitancy to the notion that he was writing a free sort of alliterative verse.² In spite of my own faltering adherence to the latter view,³ I have for some time past been convinced that it could not have been Ælfric's intention, after all, to write verse. For one thing, the alliteration, though abundant, is fitful. Skeat, who printed as alliterative verse what he considered the metrical portions of the *Lives of Saints*, frankly confessed:

It is easily seen that Ælfric's alliterative lines are rather loosely constructed, and that the alliteration is by no means regular. . . . The alliteration often falls on the wrong syllable, and sometimes it is difficult to find any at all. . . . If any reader thinks that in many places I have adopted a wrong division, I should not be disposed to dispute the point.⁴

Furthermore, as I have read and re-read certain passages, I have become convinced that the unmistakably rhythmic fall of the sentences is not the rhythmic fall of verse but of an ordered prose. The rhythm

¹ A. Brandl, Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, II, 1103-4; A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (1887), 513; B. ten Brink, *Geschichte der engl. Litteratur*, I (2d ed., 1899), 131.

² J. Schipper, *Grundriss der engl. Metrik* (1895), pp. 40-43; E. Eichenkel, *Anglia*, V, Anzeiger 47; E. Holthaus, *ibid.*, VI, Anzeiger 105-17; M. Trautmann, *ibid.*, VII, Anzeiger 214; E. Mentzel, *ibid.*, VIII, Anzeiger 49; A. Brandeis, *Die Alliteration in Ælfric's metrischen Homilien*, 1897; W. W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II (1881-1900), 1-111 (*E.E.T.S.*, 76, 82, 94, 114).

³ *Saints' Legends* (1916), pp. 120-21.

⁴ Skeat, *loc. cit.*

is there, as the alliteration is there, but it is actually quite unlike that of Old and Middle English alliterative verse. The arrangement of lines in Skeat's edition gives a specious look of poetry to what is, it now seems clear to me, something quite different. The sequence of phrases, though the phrases themselves sometimes recall the old poetry, is not that of verse. The tune is another tune. There is balance of clause against clause, but not the antithesis that accompanies the steady march of alliterative verse. To print Ælfric's sentences as Skeat does in lines of more or less equal length is to break their flow unnaturally; nor do the four stresses of the normal verse make themselves felt in reading, while the alliteration fails to emphasize accent after the fashion of Old English verse. In short, Ælfric's rhythmic language has to be tortured and distorted to make it fit the pattern of verse at all.

It may be argued, of course, that he wrote verse clumsily, in spite of the delightful clarity of his straightforward prose; or it may be urged that he modified alliterative verse to suit his own ends. In the latter case, however, something that is more evidently verse should have resulted from his efforts, since he was neither uninstructed nor devoid of talent. As to saying that he wrote prose well and verse ill, let us not accept such an explanation without an effort to discover what he actually did write, more especially as the narratives in his third series, where alliteration is most prevalent and conspicuous, have many solid literary merits, acknowledged by everyone who has read them. It would be odd if these good legends were really written in halting meter.

We should not forget, as I have intimated above, that Ælfric, even if not a great scholar, was a very erudite man, as things went at the end of the tenth century; that he wrote not only homilies and legends for the instruction of the unlearned but works on such various subjects as grammar, theology and monastic custom, mathematics, and Old Testament history; and that he was the author of pastoral letters as well as, in all probability, a Latin life of St. Æthelwold.¹ A man so learned in the things that mattered to a monk, so curious and critical of mind as he showed himself to be throughout his writings, and so eager to spread enlightenment as well as true religion among the people

¹ For a good general account of his life and works, see C. L. White, *Ælfric: A New Study of His Life and Writings*, 1898 ("Yale Studies," II).

of England, would scarcely have blundered into a style that was neither verse nor prose, when he composed his maturest set of legends. At least, he ought not to be accused of having done so until his manner has been more carefully studied than has been done hitherto.

Now, there is a strong antecedent probability that Ælfric, who was above all a skilful and bold adapter and popularizer of matters first set forth by other men, would have had some model when he deviated from the plainest prose in order to make his stories of the saints more effective with his audience. His methods of adapting and arranging his material have been sufficiently studied,¹ so that we know him to have been the master of his sources and yet at the same time remarkably faithful to them. This being so, it is highly probable, as I say, that in adopting a style other than plain prose, he would have chosen a suitable model and used it with some freedom. Previous writers in English would have provided him with nothing on which to work, for the prose of Ælfred and the men he stimulated did not achieve anything beyond clear and sometimes vivid statement. If an Englishman at the end of the tenth century wished to heighten and beautify what he wrote, he would have to turn to Latin for suggestion. He would probably, it is safe to assume, use as his model the kind of Latin prose considered in his time most suitable for elevated discourse, and he would follow his model in so far as he could do so in his native—though admittedly barbarous—speech.

This, I believe, is precisely what Ælfric did. Instead of writing formless verse in the great sections of his work where alliteration is prevalent, or writing a mongrel form of prose that is half-poetry, he was, I am convinced, following and adapting what he must have believed the best Latin style, as it was certainly the most fashionable in his day. Unless I am mistaken, that is, he was trying to give his English readers the equivalent of the rhymed prose in which men of taste found pleasure for a great many centuries. That our judgment as to the beauty of the style does not conform to theirs is beside the point. The fact is that the style was enduringly popular and, as I shall presently show, well known to Ælfric.

¹ In regard to the legends, see M. Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfric's "Homilies Catholicae,"* 1892, and *Anglia*, XVI, 1-61; J. H. Ott, *Über die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Ælfric's "Lives of Saints,"* 1892; J. Zupitza, *Zts. f. deutsches Alterthum*, XXIX, 269-96; Gerould, *Anglia*, XXXII, 347-57.

The best and fullest account of this rhymed prose that I have met with is that of Norden in his learned and extraordinarily interesting book, *Die antike Kunstprosa*.¹ It will be unnecessary for me to do more than review very briefly the history of the style as it has been sketched by Norden and others, although there is no doubt that at least the medieval use of such prose deserves more intensive study than it has yet received. The principles that underlie it are perfectly clear, as are their chief applications, which seem to have remained remarkably constant through the centuries.

The main characteristics of the style, aside from rhyme, are parallelism, antithesis, and rhythmic final clauses. Rhyme came into use, indeed, it would appear, as a means of knitting together the balanced clauses into a tighter fabric. As a somewhat extreme example, let us take a passage from Tertullian, cited by Norden:²

Novum testimonium advoco, immo omni litteratura notius omni doctrina agitatius omni editione vulgatus toto homine maius, id est totum quod est hominis. Consiste in medio anima: seu divina et aeterna res es secundum plures philosophos, eo magis non mentieris: seu minime divina, quoniam quidem mortalis, ut Epicuro soli videtur, eo magis mentiri non debebis: seu de caelo exciperis seu de terra conciperis seu numeris seu atomis concinnaris seu cum corpore incipis seu post corpus induceris, undeunde et quoquo modo hominem facis animal rationale sensus et scientiae capacissimum.³

Not less striking, though perhaps somewhat less exaggerated, is the following sentence from that Abbo of Fleury who was brought to England at the request of the monks of Ramsey Abbey for a learned teacher, and who after an active career as abbot of Fleury was killed in 1004. His stay in England lasted two years, during which he wrote the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, from which I quote:

Sed, mirum dictu! cum illud pretiosum corpus martyris putrefactum putaretur ob diuturnum spatium transacti temporis, ita sanum et incolume repertum est, ut non dicam redintegratum et compactum corpori, sed omnino in eo nichil vulneris, nichil cicatricis apparuerit.⁴

It will be noted that in both of these passages the balance of clauses and the antithesis are perfectly evident, while the rhyme

¹ *Op. cit.* (2d ed., 1909), pp. 586-669. See also E. Wölflin, *Arch. f. lat. Lexicographia*, I, 371-79; J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, I (1907), 177-78.

² P. 613.

³ *De Testimonio animae* l.

⁴ Cap. xv; ed. T. Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, I ("Rolls Series," No. 96; 1890), 19.

strikes both ear and eye at once. In the second, moreover, there is a marked tendency to alliteration. They illustrate very adequately the manner of writing to which I have reference, but they do not represent its extremest development. They show the style that cultivated men some centuries apart in time found pleasing, and they show it by no means at the point of absurdity to which it was sometimes pressed.

Rhymed prose goes back ultimately to Gorgias and other Greek rhetoricians, who discovered the trick of linking symmetrical *codæ* and balanced clauses by words with similar endings. From the Greeks, Latin stylists took over the fashion, which became paramount in Africa before the introduction of Christianity and remained so for a long time afterward. Norden shows clearly that the so-called "African" style is nothing else than this: the result of a continuous tradition in Greek and Latin rather than an aberration produced by alien influences. In the second century Florus and Apuleius are notable examples of authors in whom the style flourished.

The early Fathers merely followed their pagan predecessors in writing after the same manner, showing themselves thereby to be intellectuals of their day. It must be remembered that Africa was the center of learning and letters until the fourth century. So Cyprian exhibits all the characteristics of the style, as does Tertullian, whom I have already quoted. Augustine used it in his sermons, though he avoided it elsewhere; and his contemporary Jerome, who disapproved fine diction in others, was himself not free from the devices we are considering. When, moreover, intellectual leadership passed from Africa to Gaul and Italy, rhymed prose did not fall into disuse. Ambrose, Sulpicius Severus,¹ Gregory of Tours, Caesarius of Arles, Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Hrotswitha, to cite only a few of the writers who furnish examples of the style, show the continuity of the tradition down to the period when Ælfric studied at Winchester.

That Ælfric knew it does not rest, fortunately, on conjecture. When one examines his sources, one finds that he worked with texts that exhibit all the earmarks of the antithetical and rhymed style. It is not necessary, of course, to show that for every passage where he used alliteration his source was rhymed; it will be sufficient to compare a few parallel passages, in which the Latin style is unmistakable and

¹ In spite of Norden's statement to the contrary.

Ælfric's rendering markedly alliterative. By means of a few such passages, we shall see, I think, not only that he was familiar with rhymed prose but that the Old English has various qualities in common with the Latin prose.

First, however, we ought to note that alliteration was occasionally present along with rhyme in the work of some of the more ornate stylists. I have already called attention to this in connection with Abbo of Fleury. Cyprian, for instance, as Norden shows,¹ resorted not infrequently to this device. He wrote: "*qui idolis sacrificando sacrilegia sacrificia fecerunt, sacerdotium dei sibi vindicare non possunt.*"² Quite as interesting an example is to be found in an epistle of Sulpicius Severus, which Ælfric actually read and drew upon twice over for his two accounts of St. Martin of Tours.

Quid simile Martini exequiis aestimabitur? ducant illi prae curribus suis uinctos post terga captiuos: Martini corpus ii, qui mundum ductu illius uicerant, prosequuntur. illos confusus plausibus populorum honoret insania: Martino diuinis plauditur psalmis, Martinus hymnis caelestibus honoratur. illi post triumphos suos in tartara saeua trudentur: Martinus Abrahae sinu laetus excipitur, Martinus pauper et modicus caelum diues ingreditur.³

All possible elements of rhymed prose are here united: antithesis, parallelism, rhythmic clause endings, rhyme itself, and alliteration.

Let us now turn to a comparison of the account that Ælfric gives⁴ of the foundation of Ely by St. Audrey with the passage from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,⁵ from which he translated it.

Post annum uero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione, quae uocatur Elge; ubi constructo monasterio uirginum Deo deuotarum perplurium mater uirgo, et exemplis uitae caelestis esse coepit et monitis.

—and heo syððan on mynstre wunode sume twelf monað swa. and heo syððan wearð gehadod eft to abudissan on elig mynstre. ofer manega mynecena. and heo hi modorlice heold mid godum gebysnungum to þam gastlican life.

The alliteration is as clear in the Old English passage as is the rhyme in the Latin. A rhythmical effect is likewise evident. What

¹ P. 620.

² *Epist.* lxx. 2.

³ *Epist.* iii. 21; ed. C. Halm, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, I, 151. For Ælfric's indebtedness, see a forthcoming paper of my own on *Ælfric's Lives of St. Martin of Tours*.

⁴ *Lives of Saints* xx. 36–40; ed. Skeat, I, 434. In transcribing passages from Ælfric, I shall not hold to what seems to me the misleading arrangement of lines in Skeat's edition.

⁵ *Lib.* iv, cap. xix; ed. Plummer, I, 244.

seems to me probable, and what I am attempting to demonstrate as at least a probability, is that Ælfric, accustomed to the use of alliteration instead of rhyme in the vernacular, substituted the one for the other in writing rhythmical prose. Is not beginning rhyme used in the sentence just quoted exactly as end rhyme is used by Bede? It serves at once to link together the clauses and to furnish them with resonant echoes pleasing to the ear. It cannot be there by chance, as everyone has recognized since it was first noticed; but what seems irregularity of use, if such passages be regarded as verse, assumes a quite different look if they are in reality prose. Brandeis estimated¹ that about 10 per cent of the so-called lines in the homilies he studied lack alliteration altogether—a ratio that would have been greatly increased if he had not counted such grotesques as verses in which only the stresses of what he called a single half-line alliterate. I have already quoted Skeat's frank statement that he felt far from sure that his division into verses was wholly correct. The fact is, I think, that any such arrangement of Ælfric's sentences breaks down on the point of alliteration, if on no other, whereas the alliteration is purposive and consistent if it be taken as used in the way I have indicated.

Still another phenomenon in the passages quoted above must be considered before we leave them. In speaking of the characteristics of rhymed Latin prose, I mentioned rhythmic clause endings. The use of such endings was conventionalized, and has been studied by modern scholars with great care.² Into the theory and history of the so-called *cursus* we need not enter here. It will be sufficient to say that when accent replaced quantity as the prevailing element in Latin rhythm, the three dominant types of clause endings retained their essential forms and continued to enjoy popularity as *cursus planus*, *cursus tardus*, and *cursus velox*. The first was a phrase in which the stresses fell on the second and fifth syllables, counting

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

² See Norden, pp. 909–60; L. Valois, *Étude sur le rythme des bulles pontificales*, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXII (1881), 161–98, 257–72; L. Couture, *Revue des Questions historiques*, LI (1892), 253–61; A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (1894), pp. 454–62; E. Vacandard, *Revue des Questions historiques*, LXXVIII (1905), 59–102; M. W. Croll, *Studies in Philology*, XVI (1919), 1–55. In regard to this matter I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Croll, for several very useful bibliographical suggestions. It is extremely important to note that Norden (p. 950) expresses justifiable doubt as to the truth of the oft-repeated statement that the *cursus* was not used from the beginning of the seventh century until the eleventh. The fact is that authors of this period furnish abundant examples of the endings in question, although the papal chancery intermitted their use.

from the end. The *tardus* was a phrase ending in a four-syllable word accented on the antepenult (or a three-syllable word similarly accented, preceded by a monosyllable) following a word accented on the penult. In other words, the stresses in the phrase fell on the third and sixth syllables, counting from the end. The *velox* was a phrase ending, theoretically, with a four-syllable word accented on the penult, preceded by a word accented on the antepenult. In practice, however, from the time of Gregory VIII onward, any combination of words was used that brought the stresses on the second and seventh syllables, counting from the end, with a secondary accent on the fourth syllable. The following examples will serve to illustrate these forms:

- Cursus planus:* confidénter audébo
 ésse consórtes
 prudénter et caúte
 córde currámus
- Cursus tardus:* lárga protéctio
 promísisse me mémini
 operári justítiam
 dirigéntur in éxitus
- Cursus velox:* múnere còngregántur
 gaúdia pèrveníre
 sufficiant àd volátum
 respóndeat prò me vóbis
 dábítur èt non fíli

It so happens that the sentence from Bede quoted above ends with a good example of *cursus tardus*: *coépit et mónitis*. It so happens also that many other passages used by Ælfric as sources were written not only in rhymed prose but with the *cursus*. Ælfric was accordingly well acquainted with such endings in the works of other men. What is more, they are to be found in the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which is almost certainly by his hand. To this we must presently return. It therefore seems to me reasonable to suppose that he would adapt them, along with other rhetorical devices, for use in the sophisticated English prose now under examination. If you will observe the stops in the passage quoted above—stops happily preserved by Skeat in his edition—you will see that each is preceded by a rhythmic phrase of sorts. These rhythmic endings, along with the alliteration, explain why Ælfric's sentences have a flow that has hitherto been usually

taken for the flow of verse. The cadence is wholly a matter of the endings, I believe. Nor have the endings the pattern of alliterative verse; they would ordinarily make—to speak, now, not merely of the passage under discussion, but more generally¹—very bad lines or half-lines. On the other hand, they follow the *cursus* closely enough, and in a sufficient number of cases, to make me believe that Ælfric had it in mind when he wrote. Of the four clause endings in the passage quoted above, *sume twelf monað swa* and *abudissan on elig mynstre*, though certainly rhythmic, do not correspond to any of the conventional types; but the third, *mánega mýnecéna*, is not a bad *cursus velox*, while the fourth, *gástlican lfe*, is an adequate analogy of *cursus planus*. I should not like to assert that correspondences such as these completely prove Ælfric's dependence upon the *cursus* for rhythmic inspiration, but I do think that they furnish sufficient grounds for a tentative acceptance of the relationship as a working hypothesis. It is furthermore highly interesting to note that the points of punctuation, which have always been so puzzling to readers of medieval manuscripts, here serve a useful purpose by way of indicating the pauses after the rhythmic phrases.

Let us consider another passage, in which Ælfric was again transforming Bede.

Quod cum inter alios etiam ipse carnifex, qui eum percussurus erat, uidisset, festinavit ei, ubi ad locum destinatum morti uenerat, occurrere, diuino nimirum admonitus instinctu, proiectoque ense, quem strictum tenuerat, pedibus eius aduoluitur, multum desiderans, ut cum martyre, uel pro martyre, quem percutere iuebatur, ipse potius mereretur percuti.²

Ða wearð se cwellere þe hine acwellan sceolde þurh þæt wundor abryrd. and awarep his swurd arn ða ardlice þaða hi ofer ða ea comon. and feoll to his fotum mid fullum geleafan. wolde mid him sweltan sərðan þe he hine sloge.³

Here again the characteristics of the style are equally evident in Ælfric and in his source, if, that is to say, you grant that alliteration serves the same purpose as rhyme. Bede's long sentence ends, it should be noted, with a *cursus planus*. As for Ælfric's final clauses, only one corresponds to a conventional formula, though the others

¹ I admit, however, that in certain cases there is a strong flavor of the alliterative half-line. See p. 364.

² *Hist. eccl.* i. vii; ed. Plummer, I, 20. Of St. Alban.

³ *Lives of Saints* xix. 98-102; ed. Skeat, I, 420.

are rhythmic. At all events, *fullum geleafan* makes a good *cursus planus*.

Let us next look at a series of passages from Ælfric's later life of St. Martin of Tours. The first of these was derived from the *Vita* by Sulpicius Severus, who was greatly admired for his style by his contemporaries and followers.

Pallebant eminus monachi et periculo iam propiore conterriti spem omnem fidemque perdiderant, solam Martini mortem expectantes. At ille confusus in Domino intrepidus opperiens, cum iam fragorem sui pinus concidens edidisset, iam cadenti, iam super se ruenti, elevata obviam manu, signum salutis opponit. Tum vero—velut turbinis modo retro actam putares—diversam in partem ruit.¹

Ʒa wæron his munecas wundorlice afyrhte. and nan oðer ne wendon buton he wurde ðær of-hroren. and se beam Ʒa feallende beah to martine. Martinus Ʒa unforht ongean Ʒæt feallende treow worhte rode-tacn. and hit wende Ʒa ongean. swilce hit sum færlic Ʒoden Ʒydde under-bæc. swa Ʒæt hit of-feol for-nean Ʒæs folces micelne dæl. Ʒe Ʒær orsorge stodon.²

In these examples the rhyme and alliteration perform their customary office. On the other hand, Ælfric has caught little of the balanced and antithetical arrangement of clauses so marked in Sulpicius. What he has adopted is the use of rhythmic endings—this time quite clearly. Sulpicius concluded his second sentence with a *cursus planus*, *salutis opponit*, and probably intended *diversam in partem ruit* for *cursus velox*. Ælfric has three cases of what looks like *cursus planus*: *wundorlice afyrhte*, *béah to martine*, and *wende Ʒa ongean*; he has, besides, two evidently rhythmical phrases that do not correspond to the conventional types. His intention, it seems to me, is as evident as in the cases analyzed before.

Later in the same life of St. Martin, Ælfric used a letter by Sulpicius Severus as his source. The sentences following will show how he adapted his material.

Ita profectus cum suo illo, ut semper, frequentissimo discipulorum sanctissimoque comitatu mergos in flumine conspicatur piscium praedam sequi et rapacem ingluviem adsiduis urgere capturis.³

He ferde ða Ʒiderwerd mid sumum gebroðrum. Ʒa geseah he scealfran swimman on anum flode. and gelome doppelan adune to grunde ehtende Ʒære fixa mid fræcra grædignysse.⁴

¹ *Vita S. Martini* cap. 13; ed. C. Halm, in *Corp. Script. Eccl.*, I, 123.

² *Lives of Saints* xxxi. 411–18; ed. Skeat, II, 244–46.

³ *Epist.* iii. 7; ed. C. Halm, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

⁴ Vss. 1313–16; ed. Skeat, II, 300.

Of these passages nothing new need be said, except perhaps that Ælfric's sentence structure is here more balanced. Sulpicius used *cursus planus* in his final clause, *urguere capturis*; Ælfric successively what seem to be a *cursus planus*, *súmun gebróðrum*, a *cursus velox*, *swítmman on ánum flóde*, and a third sort of phrase to which I can give no name.

Still later in the same narrative, Ælfric turned to Gregory of Tours, whose prose is notably and notoriously ornate. It seems to me worth while to quote a rather long passage from Gregory for the sake of comparing Ælfric's rendering with it.

Respondens autem beatus Ambrosius: "Nolite," inquit, "turbari. Multum enim mihi valet obdormisse, cui tale miraculum Dominus ostendisse dignatus sit. Nam noveritis, fratrem meum Martinum sacerdotem egressum fuisse de corpore, me autem eius funere obsequium prae buisse, peractoque ex more servitio, capitellum tantum, vobis excitantibus, non explevi." . . . O beatum virum, in cuius transitu sanctorum canit numerus, angelorum exultat chorus, omniumque caelestium virtutum occurrit exercitus; diabolus praesumptione confunditur ecclesia virtute roboratur, sacerdotes revelatione glorificantur; quem Michahel adsumpsit cum angelis, Maria suscepit cum virginum choris, paradísus retinet laetum cum sanctis!¹

Se halga bisceop þa cwæð. ne beo ge ge-drefede micclum me fremað þæt ic mihte slapon. forðan-þe me min drihten micel wundor æteowde. Wite ge þæt min broþor martinus se halga of lichaman is afaren. and ic his lic behwearf mid gewunelicre þenunge. and þa þa ge me wrehton. þa næs his heafod-clað eallunga ful don. . . . Eala eadig is se wer þe on his forð-siðe halgena ge-tel healice sang. and engla werod blissode. and ealle heofon-ware him to-geanes ferdon, and se fula deofol on his dystig-nysse þurh drihten wearð gescynd. Seo halige gelaðung on mihte is gestrangod. and godes sacerdas sund gewuldrode mid þære onwrigennysse martines forð-siðes. þonne se halga michahel mid englum under-feng. and maria seo eadiga mid mædenlicum werodum, and neorxne-wang gehylt bliðne mid halgum.²

It should be observed that Gregory, in spite of using rhyme elaborately throughout this passage, as well as the rhetorical devices of which he was fond, did not employ the *cursus* until he came to the very end. At this point he broke into a series of rhythmical clauses juxtaposed. *Adsumpsit cum angelis* is a *tardus*, while *Marta suscepit, virginum choris, paradísus retinet*, and *laetum cum sanctis* all belong in the category of *planus*. Stricter usage would certainly have disallowed

¹ *De Virtutibus S. Martini* l. 5; ed. B. Krusch, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, I (1885), 591 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*).

² Vss. 1419-25, 1430-40; ed. Skeat, II, 308.

such a chain of clauses, but it was the kind of extravagance to which Gregory was prone—and to which, let it be remembered, Ælfric was accustomed. Ælfric similarly increased the emotional stress of his passage as he went on with it. There is almost no alliteration in the earlier section, whereas in the latter there is as much as Ælfric customarily used. As to the phrase endings, one cannot say much more than that they are rhythmical. Several of them, it will be noted, might be half-lines of verse, although others could not well be. The possibility suggests itself that Ælfric, accustomed to the cadence of both the *cursus* and of the national verse, sometimes substituted the latter for the former. I feel no assurance that this was the case, but I believe we should admit it as at least a possibility.

Let us finally look at two passages by Abbo of Fleury, from whom Ælfric took his life of St. Edmund of East Anglia.

"*Madefactus,*" inquit, "*cruore meorum mortis supplicio dignus extiteras; sed plane Christi mei exemplum secutus nolo puras commaculare manus, qui pro ejus nomine, si ita contigerit, libenter paratus sum vestris telis occumbere. Ideo pernici gradu rediens festinus domino tuo haec responsa perfer quantocius. . . . Unde noveris quod pro amore vitae temporalis Christianus rex Eadmundus non se subjiciet pagano duci, nisi prius effectus fueris compos nostrae religionis, malens esse signifer in castris aeterni regis.*"¹

Witodlice þu wære wyrðe sleges nu. ac ic nelle afylan on þinum fulum blode mine clænan handa. forðan-þe ic criste folgie þe us swa ge-bysnode. and ic bliðelice wille beon ofslagen þurh eow gif hit swa god fore-sceawað. Far nu swiþe hraðe. and sege þinum reþan hlaforde. ne abihð næfre eadmund hingware on life hæpenum here-togan. buton he to hælende criste ærest mid ge-leafan on þysum lande gebuge.²

Tunc sanctus rex Eadmundus in palatio, ut membrum Christi, projectis armis capitur, et vinculis arctioribus arctatus constringitur, atque innocens sistitur ante impium ducem quasi Christus ante Pilatum praesidem, cupiens ejus sequi vestigia, qui pro nobis immolatus est hostia.³

Hwæt þa eadmund cynincg mid þam þe hingwar com. stod innan his healle þæs hælendes gemyndig. and awarep his wæpna wolde geæfen-læcan cristes gebysnungum. þe for-bead petre mid wæpnum to winnenne wið þa wælhreowan iudeiscan.⁴

It will be seen that Abbo employs in both passages all the devices we have been observing in earlier writers. The first passage ends with

¹ *Passio S. Eadmundi* ix; ed. Arnold, *op. cit.*, I, 13–15.

² *Lives of Saints* xxxii. 85–93; ed. Skeat, II, 320.

³ *Passio S. Eadmundi* x; ed. Arnold, *op. cit.*, I, 15.

⁴ Vss. 101–5; ed. Skeat, II, 320–22.

a *cursus velox*, the second with a *cursus tardus*. Ælfric, in turn, furnishes us with two good examples of his rhythmic prose. The alliteration is well marked throughout. That it is used quite differently from the way of verse seems to me as clear as in the other examples we have examined. Furthermore, the last two clause endings of the first passage, *hæþenum hère-tógan* and *lándes gebúge*, correspond to *cursus velox* and *cursus planus*, respectively. I must admit that I can do nothing with the final phrase of the second passage; but the preceding clause ending, *crístes gebýsnungum*, at least resembles *cursus tardus*. Two out of the three phrases just quoted could not, one ought to note, be regarded as passable half-lines of verse.

The passages discussed above have shown, I hope, to what extent Ælfric's rhythmical prose resembles the model in imitation of which I believe it to have been fashioned. That it was a very exact imitation I do not for a moment assert, but only that Ælfric's practice seems to have been an adaptation to English of a manner of writing to which he was accustomed in Latin. One would not expect, as a matter of fact, to find an imitation of the sort any closer than it seems to be. Alliteration served very well instead of rhyme; the ordering of clauses for rhetorical purposes, which would have been more difficult to manage, corresponded less regularly to the Latin practice, but was nevertheless attempted; rhythmical clause endings produced an effect similar to that of the *cursus*. If it be thought that Ælfric's approximations to the *cursus* are not sufficiently numerous or sufficiently close to warrant the belief that he was consciously imitating it, I shall not be disturbed, although I believe that to be the case. My chief concern is to point out that Ælfric was writing prose of a studied sort rather than clumsy and formless verse. To that, all the evidence seems to me to point.

That he did so is certainly rendered more plausible by the fact, to which I have already alluded in passing, that he himself could write rhymed prose in Latin. In the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, for example, the style is unmistakable. I need quote only a few sentences to show its character. Consider the second—and final—sentence of the dedication:

Dignum ducens denique aliqua de gestis patris nostri et magnifici doctoris Atheluoldi memoriae modo commendare, transactis videlicet viginti annis

post ejus migrationem, brevi quidem narratione mea, tum sed et rustica, quae apud vos vel alios a fidelibus didici huic stylo ingero, ne forte penitus propter inopiam scriptorum oblivioni tradentur.¹

This has all the earmarks of the style, even to excess, since alliteration is added to rhyme and several of the clause endings are rhythmical. Other examples from the body of the work are equally clear in their tendency. Take the close of chapter xviii:

Sicque factum est, consentiente rege, ut partim Dunstani consilio et actione, partim Atheluuoldi, monasteria ubique in gente Anglorum, quaedam monachis, quaedam monialibus, constituerentur sub abbatibus et abbatissis regulariter viventibus.²

Or look at the close of chapter xx:

Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et juvenes semper docere, et libros Anglice eis solvere, et jocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari; unde factum est ut perplures ex ejus discipulis fierent abbates et episcopi in gente Anglorum.³

It would be laboring the point, I think, to quote extensively from Ælfric's various Latin prefaces, which show how habitual was his use of the style we have been considering. I content myself with a single sentence from the Preface to the *Lives of Saints*:

Illa uero que scripturus sum suspicor non offendere audientes, sed magis fide torpentes recreare hortationibus, quia martyrum passiones nimium fidem erigant languentem.⁴

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¹ Ed. J. Stevenson, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, II ("Rolls Series," No. 2; 1858), 255.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 262.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴ Ed. Skeat, I, 2.

ARTORIUS

The redoubtable Heinrich Zimmer, in his review¹ of Gaston Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Tome XXX, takes occasion, among other things, to touch upon the question of the etymology of the name *Arthur*. He says:

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die britannischen Fürsten beim Abzug der Römer sich als die Nachfolger und Stelleninhaber der höheren römischen Beamten betrachteten, und dass in den Adern mancher britannischen Fürsten des 5. Jahrh. Römerblut floss. Auch römische Namen treten bei ihnen auf. . . . Es ist daher auch der von andern schon verschiedentlich ausgesprochene Gedanke, dass *Arthur* ein römischer Name *Artor* oder *Artorius* sei, nicht leicht abzuweisen, da lautlich nichts im Wege steht.²

An American scholar, the late J. D. Bruce, has recently approved this etymology. Bruce expresses himself, indeed, with absolute assurance in the matter. He believes strongly that Arthur was a historical character of the early sixth century, although he admits that "the evidence on the subject . . . is meagre, relatively late and almost wholly fantastic."³ He attempts to strengthen this evidence in various ways. His statement about the etymology of *Arthur* is all that concerns us here. On this point he says: "Strong confirmation of Arthur's historical character seems afforded by the fact that his name is, in its origin, not Celtic, but Roman, being derived from the name, *Artorius*, which occurs in Tacitus and Juvenal and which is, indeed, the name of a Roman gens."⁴

It will be noted that Bruce regards the etymology in question, not as a theory but as a fact. He thus goes much farther than Zimmer, who contented himself with calling it a "*Gedanke . . . nicht leicht abzuweisen*." But Bruce, although he derives *Arthur* from *Artorius* in the most unqualified fashion, offers no evidence to fortify his position. The passages in Juvenal and Tacitus which he cites testify to the

¹ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1890), pp. 785 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 818, n. 1.

³ *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 3.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* But *Artorius* is actually an Etruscan name; see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lat. Eigennamen*, p. 72 and *passim*.

existence of the name *Artorius*,¹ but since the persons to whom Juvenal and Tacitus refer had no connection with Britain, their names do not help us in determining whether *Artorius* was a name actually in use in Britain. Bruce's certainty, then, is based on faith rather than on works. And his very faith is somewhat misplaced. Thus, he cites as parallels the well-known Welsh names *Gereint*, *Owein* (*Ywein*), and *Urien*. He follows Zimmer in deriving *Owein* from the classical *Eugenius*.² But Zimmer's pupil, Holger Pedersen, has shown that the name may perfectly well be native.³ *Gereint* and *Urien*, too, are native names.⁴ In sum, Bruce has taken an old conjecture and quite arbitrarily has dubbed it a fact. It seems never to have occurred to Bruce, or Zimmer, or the predecessors of Zimmer, to investigate the history of the various historical characters who bore the name *Artorius*. Yet for want of such an investigation the theory that derives *Arthur* from *Artorius* is left unsupported by any evidence worthy of the name. It is the purpose of the present paper to do the job left undone by Zimmer and his followers and, in the light of all the material available, to come to conclusions as definite as may be. We shall find that Bruce's faith, however misplaced, had some justification.

In the *Satires*⁵ of Juvenal the name *Artorius* occurs, and from Juvenal's use of *-lorius* there as a dactylic foot we have a right to conclude that the *o* of the name was long. The testimony of Juvenal is confirmed by that of sundry Greek inscriptions in which the name appears. Thus, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*⁶ we find the name transliterated into Greek as ΑΡΤΩΡΙΟΝ. Now in Cymric the long *o* of Latin loan-words regularly appears as *u*, and such endings as *-ius* are dropped.⁷ The form *Arthur*, then, would be a perfectly normal development from *Artorius*.

This does not solve our problem, however. It is clear that the derivation of *Arthur* from *Artorius* is phonetically possible. But

¹ Bruce is in error when he states (*op. cit.*, I, 4, n. 3) that Juvenal gives the name in the feminine form. It is Tacitus who does this.

² *Op. cit.*, I, 3 n. Bruce's reference, in this same note, to Thurneysen gives a false impression of Thurneysen's actual comments.

³ *Verg. Gram. der kelt. Sprachen*, I, 73 and 212. Zimmer was of course right, however, in rejecting Rhys's conjecture that *Owein* is to be connected with *Aesus*.

⁴ Pedersen, *op. cit.*, I, 117 f., and Windisch, *Kelt. Brit.*, p. 176. *Gereint* is probably connected with Irish *géraig* and *gréit* (Pedersen).

⁵ III, 29.

⁶ No. 3285.

⁷ See Pedersen, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

actually the name may have arisen in an altogether different fashion.¹ Many a word can be explained in various ways, each equally possible phonetically. It behooves us, then, to seek a solution by attacking the problem from another angle. Is there any evidence that the name *Artorius* was known in Britain? Latin names must have been more or less familiar to the Britons, of course, throughout the imperial period. Some of these names even came to be given to native Britons, though such Britons were doubtless of Roman descent in many cases. Thus, the names *Ambrose*, *Aurelius*, and *Constantine* appear in Gildas. The popularity of *Ambrose* was perhaps due to the fame of St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan and one of the great figures of the early church. *Aurelius*, of course, was an extremely common Latin name. *Constantine* was a popular name in Britain because of the British connections of the family of Constantine the Great. The Britons seem to have taken a kind of patriotic pride, indeed, in the dynasty of Constantine. These examples indicate rather clearly how we ought to attack our problem. *Artorius* is an extremely rare name. We cannot simply assume, then (as we can in the case of *Aurelius*), that it might have been current in Britain. We must seek an actual British *Artorius*, or at any rate an *Artorius* who lived in Britain. And such a man, in fact, appears in the records of history, although up to this good hour he has never been properly studied in connection with King Arthur. I refer to the Roman general, Lucius *Artorius* Castus.²

Our information about this *Artorius* comes from two inscriptions, both somewhat mutilated. The longer inscription is printed, with notes by Th. Mommsen, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (III, 303), as Number 1919. Additional notes appear on pages 1030 and 1505 (No. 8513). This inscription is also printed, with notes, by H. Dessau, in his *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (I, 548), as Number 2770 (with a correction, III, 2, clxxx). The shorter inscription appears in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (III, 2131), as Number 12791. Both inscriptions are reported by E. Klebs in the *Prosopographia* (I, 155), as Number 975. Inscription 1919 appears on a very ornate *arca* of white marble, at Podstrana, in the region of the ancient

¹ For a different etymology, see my paper, "The Historicity of Arthur," *JEGPh*, 463 ff.

² Oman, *Eng. before Norman Conq.*, p. 211, mentions this general, and conjectures that he "may have left numerous relatives or freedmen in Britain." But Arthurian scholars seem quite unaware of his existence. Even Zimmer knew nothing of him.

Epetium (modern Stobrez), near Spalato in Dalmatia. Number 12791 was found near the chapel of St. Martin of Podstrana on the road from Spalato to Almissa.

The two inscriptions read as follows (the sign "7" means *centurioni*, abbreviations are extended without indication; restorations are in italics):

NUMBER 1919

Dis L . Artorius Castus . Centurioni legionis *Manibus*
 III Gallicae . item Centurioni legionis VI Ferra
 tae . item 7 leg . II Adiutricis . item 7 leg V Ma
 cedonicae . item primo pilo eiusdem praeposito
 classis Misenatium praefecto legionis VI
 Victricis . duci leg cohortium alarum Britanici
 miarum adversus Armoricanos . Procuratori Cente
 nario provinciae Liburniae iure gladi . Vi
 vus ipse sibi et suis st

NUMBER 12791

L . Artorius
 Castus primipilaris
 Leg V Macedonicae
 praep Cl Mis pr
 aefectus legionis
 VI Victricis

From Mommsen's notes on Number 1919 I quote the following:

Praefectum legionis VI victricis, quae ab Hadriano inde in Britannia stetit Eboraci, eam legionem cum adiunctis ei cohortibus alisque duxisse adversus Armoricanos, id est populos orae maritimae Galliarum forte rebellantes nihil habet quod offendat, nec perspicio quomodo aliter recte suppleas.

Dessau, in a corresponding note, says:

Armoricani adversus eos nescio quo tempore rebellantes potest hic praefectus legionis sextrae Victricis Eboraci tendentis vexillationes exercitus Britannici duxisse.

The dates of the two inscriptions cannot be determined with any great precision from the material at my disposition. The epigraphic form is such that the inscriptions can hardly be set later than the second century A.D. I have found no statement of the date of the *arca* on which inscription 1919 is cut, nor any other mention of the Armorican insurrection referred to in this inscription. But the campaign against the Armoricans obviously took place after the transfer

of the VI. Victrix from the Rhine to Britain. According to Mommsen, this transfer took place shortly after the year 108 A.D.¹ But certainly it took place under Hadrian,² who became emperor in 117 A.D. and was in Britain in 122. Artorius made his expedition, then, later than *ca.* 120 A.D. We have reason to believe that he made it considerably later. He first appears as a centurion in the III. Gallica. This legion had been stationed in the East since the days of Vespasian; under Hadrian it appears in Judea.³ He was next transferred to the VI. Ferrata, which under Hadrian likewise appears in Judea.⁴ Both legions were presumably employed from 132 to 135 A.D., under the command of Hadrian's great general Julius Severus, in quelling the terrific Jewish revolt which raged during those years. Now Julius Severus, before taking over the government of Judea and Syria, had been legate with the XIV. Gemina, in Pannonia, and legate *pro praetore* of Britannia.⁵ When we find our Artorius, then, turning up later in Pannonia (with the II. Adiutrix), and still later transferred all the way to Britain and given the very distinguished post of *praefectus* of the VI. Victrix, we may suspect that he participated in the Jewish campaign, and won the favor of his general, Julius Severus, through whose influence and local connections he obtained his posts in Pannonia and Britain. If so, the career of Artorius was hardly well launched before 135 A.D., and his Armorican expedition could hardly have taken place earlier than 150. Indeed, since the VI. Victrix remained in Britain permanently after its transfer thither,⁶ the expedition may well have taken place some years later than 150 A.D.

The longer inscription amounts to an autobiographical sketch. We learn from it, in chronological order, the main facts in the career of Artorius. The shorter inscription is similar in its general scheme, but confines itself to the military posts held by Artorius, and, even so, omits the earlier part of his career. On the basis of the two inscriptions I have worked out the brief biography which follows.

¹ *Römische Geschichte*, V, 171, n. 2 (but see note on inscription 1919).

² See *CIL*, VI, 339, No. 1549.

³ J. C. Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 408.

⁴ See Paulus de Rohden, *De Palaestina et Arabia*, p. 31.

⁵ *CIL*, III, 368, No. 2830.

⁶ See *ibid.*, VI, 808, No. 3492, and the article on the VI. Victrix in Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier, *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, III, 1083.

L. Artorius Castus was a Roman citizen of the Equestrian order. We do not know either the time or the place of his birth. Since, however, he passed his last days near Salona in Dalmatia, and since not only he but also other Artorii seem to have lived there, we may perhaps presume that he was a native of that province. He first appears as centurion (i.e., captain) in the III. Gallica, a legion stationed in the East. Thence he was transferred, still as centurion, to the VI. Ferrata, a legion likewise stationed in the East. He perhaps took part in the Jewish war which raged from 132 to 135 A.D. If so, he served under the Roman general Julius Severus, who was in command of the imperial forces engaged in crushing the Jewish rebellion. Artorius next appears as a centurion in the II. Adiutrix, a legion stationed in Pannonia.¹ Thence he was transferred to the V. Macedonica, in Moesia,² and while with this legion he won his appointment as *primipilaris* (i.e., major), an office confided to members of the Equestrian order.³ From this time on, his advancement was rapid. We find him made *praepositus* (i.e., admiral) of the fleet off Misenum, and finally he was appointed *praefectus* (i.e., colonel or general) of the VI. Victrix, a legion stationed at York in the province of Britannia. While he was serving here, an insurrection seems to have broken out in Armorica (now Brittany), and Artorius was appointed *dux* (i.e., general in command) of a punitive expedition sent against the rebels. His army consisted of legions and auxiliary troops. When Artorius had become incapacitated, by wounds or what not, for further active service in the Roman army, he was given a lucrative civil post *jure gladii*, i.e., as a reward for his military services. He was made *procurator centenarius* of the province of Liburnia (North Dalmatia). This post carried with it a yearly salary of 100,000 sesterces.⁴ Artorius was still living when the longer inscription was cut; he himself had the work done, and hence we have a right to call the inscription his autobiography. The precise date of his death is not known to us, but it is probable that he died in the latter part of the second century, at his home near Salona.

Was L. Artorius Castus the historical prototype of Arthur? It is,

¹ *CIL*, III, 416, 482.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 999.

³ See R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine* (2d ed.), p. 117.

⁴ See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. "Centenarii."

of course, impossible to be sure; the evidence is insufficient to confirm or to refute the hypothesis. But the two men certainly have things in common. I have tabulated these as follows: (1) their names may be equated without phonological difficulty; (2) both were defenders of Britain against barbarian invaders; (3) both led a British army overseas to conquests in Gaul. On the first point it ought to be noted that both *Artorius* and *Arthur* are names unique in British use. The name *Arthur*, however frequent in later times, belongs only to Arthur himself and to persons named after him (directly or indirectly).¹ We know only one British *Artorius*, and we know only one *Arthur*. It calls for no great exercise of the fancy, then, to identify the two. Again, an important function of *Artorius* as commander of the VI. *Victrix* was to defend the northern border against the incursions of the wild tribes across the wall.² Now if in later centuries a legend actually developed about *Artorius*, it is easy to see how the wild Saxons, the enemies par excellence during the fifth century, might take the place of the wild tribes of the second century, enemies too remote to interest the legend-makers of the new day. The argument is strengthened, of course, if the battles recorded in Nennius actually belong in the North, as many students have supposed.³ In the third place, the parallel between the expeditions of *Artorius* and *Arthur* to Gaul is very striking. Geoffrey's story of the Gallic conquests of *Arthur* is generally thought to have been entirely of his own invention, since nothing that corresponds to it occurs in Nennius. But certainly there was an old tradition about an overseas expedition of *Arthur*'s, as Rhys has emphasized.⁴ Geoffrey remade the whole to suit his own purposes, no doubt, but presumably he had some traditional basis upon which to build. Indeed, the very retirement of *Artorius* from active service, a retirement perhaps enforced by a severe wound (for soldiers have a way of getting wounded), and his departure from Britain, might well have become the nucleus for some such tale as the "Passing of *Arthur*," particularly if the Roman general, like the *Frederic Barbarossa* of later times, were

¹ See H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 284.

² That the VI. *Victrix* served in this capacity is proved by inscriptions; see *CIL*, VII, 163, No. 940, and 198, No. 1107.

³ Thus, A. Anscombe, in the *ZfcPh*, V, 118, concludes: "All the victories of the *Gwledig* [i.e., *Arthur*] appear to have been won in Upper Britain, and the distinctly military districts of the Roman province may have been reduced to order by him."

⁴ J. Rhys, in Malory, Preface, *Morte Darthur* (Everyman's Library ed.), pp. xxii ff.

sadly missed and his period of command looked back to with regret and longing.¹ But of this, of course, we have no genuine evidence.

In general, the pseudo-historical Arthur (as distinguished from the Arthur of romance) corresponds with astonishing accuracy to the Artorius of our inscriptions. The birth-story, however, and the story of the rape of Guinevere, obviously have a different origin, as do the romantic trappings of the final scene. In my paper, "The Historicity of Arthur,"² I have attempted to determine the origin and trace the development of the birth- and rape-stories.³ In the present paper I offer a possible historical basis for the pseudo-historical material. If this be the true basis, the silence of Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* on the subject of Arthur becomes thoroughly explicable. They mention no sixth-century Arthur because no sixth-century Arthur existed. Some day somebody may unearth something better than the present "meagre, late and fantastic" evidence of the historicity of a sixth-century Arthur. But as matters stand, the only historical character with whom Arthur can with any plausibility be connected is the second-century L. Artorius Castus.⁴

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¹ Note particularly the troubles in the year 184 A.D. (Cassius Dio lxxii. 8).

² *JEGPh*, XXIII, 482 ff.

³ The validity of my conclusions concerning these stories, I may say, is in no way dependent upon any particular etymology of the name *Arthur*, although in the same paper I have advanced an explanation of that name quite different from the etymology supported here.

⁴ I wish to thank my colleague, Dr. D. M. Robinson, for his kindness in helping me settle several epigraphic moot points.

LEADING FRENCH TRAGEDIES JUST BEFORE THE *CID*

As references by dramatists in the early seventeenth century to the work of their contemporaries are somewhat rare, passages from Georges de Scudéry and Guyon Guérin de Bouscal, hitherto overlooked,¹ are of some importance in determining the relative popularity of plays that appeared shortly before the *Cid*. They occur in the "prologues" to the former's *Mort de César* and to the latter's sequel to this play. Scudéry's tragedy was first printed in 1636. The *privilege* is dated June 14, the *achevé d'imprimer* July 15. After a dedication to Richelieu in which the author refers to "tant de biens-faits & tant de faueurs dont ie vous suis redeuable," and an *Au Lecteur*, a dialogue in verse between the Tiber and the Seine is given in praise of the Cardinal's achievements. Among them are mentioned his services to the Muses, as a result of which:

Aussi iamais les doctes mains,
Soits des Grecs, ou soit des Romains,
N'ont tracé du bien dire, vne si haute idée:
Et iamais Euripide en voulant l'esgaler,
N'eust fait si bien parler,
HERODES, SOPHONISBE, & la docte MEDEE.

Au iourd'huy mesme en toutes pars,
LA MORT DV PREMIER DES CÉSARS
S'en va faire admirer nostre Scene Tragique....

The references are to Tristan l'Hermite's *Mariane*, Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, Corneille's *Médée*, and Scudéry's own *Mort de César*, the same plays that he opposes to Corneille's masterpiece during the *Cid* quarrel² with the natural exception of *Médée*, which he replaces by Rotrou's *Hercule mourant* and Du Ryer's *Cléomédon*.

La Suite de la Mort de César, a sequel to Scudéry's tragedy, was written by Guérin de Bouscal as his second play.³ He follows Scudéry

¹ Even by Batereau in his *Georges de Scudéry als Dramatiker*, Leipzig, 1902, though he makes some mention of other passages in Scudéry's "prologue."

² Cf. A. Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid*, p. 71. Paris: Welter, 1898.

³ The "prologue" to this play was probably written between the dates of its *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer*, that is between July 23, 1636, and February 20, 1637. For the former date, cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVII, 466, 467.

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not only in his historical theme, but in a "Prologue de la renommée," which praises Richelieu as protector of poets. In order to show what has been accomplished by his munificence, Guérin gives the following list of plays written by the Cardinal's protégés:¹

L'un fait voir Hercule enchanté
 Par les charmes d'une beauté
 Negliger sa valeur ainsi que son espouse,
 Et confesser enfin qu'estre victorieux
 Des monstres les plus furieux
 Est moins que de dompter une femme jalouse.
 L'autre nous monstre clairement
 Dans la perte de Massinisse,
 Que qui veut bastir sur le vice
 Esprouve tot ou tard quel est ce fondement.
 L'autre nous fait voir que l'amour
 Desrobe le lustre & le jour
 Aux belles actions d'un Empereur de Rome;
 Et l'autre nous monstrant un Roy dans sa maison
 Frustré de l'effect du poison,
 Fait voir qu'est devant Dieu la sagesse de l'homme.
 L'autre, du premier des Césars
 Nous fit voir la fin déplorable,
 Et combien il fut miserable
 De ne mourir plus tost au milieu des hazards.

The first of these five plays is Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*, acted at carnival, 1634. In it the familiar legend is followed. The hero gives up the pursuit of monsters and neglects his wife for the sake of his captive Iole and dies as a result of his jealous wife's efforts to win him back. Hercule refers (III, 2) to his triumphs and reflects that

Vne femme sans plus sera victorieuse
 D'une si noble vie & si laborieuse.

Elsewhere (IV, 2) he tells his mother that his death is caused by jealousy and that

Alcide a vaincu tout et cede à ce poison.

The second play is Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, acted as early as December, 1634. Guérin seems to consider Massinisse the leading character, an opinion due, perhaps, to the acting of Mondory.² The third

¹ *La Suite de la Mort de César*, Paris: Quinet, 1640, pp. 6, 7.

² Cf. Balzac's letter of April 3, 1635.

reference is to a play concerned with Antony, the only Roman leader whose death was the result of love treated in tragedies of this period. The use of the word *empereur* presents no difficulty, for it is found in several French plays with the sense of *imperator*.¹ Two tragedies describing Antony's death appeared in 1635, Mairet's *Marc-Antoine* and Benserade's *Cléopâtre*, but the reference cannot be to the first of these, for, as Mairet has just been mentioned, "l'autre" must refer to some other dramatist, obviously to Benserade. The fourth reference is to La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*, first played in 1635, in which the king, brought to bay in his palace, is unable to poison himself because his system is full of antidotes he has been in the habit of taking. The final reference is, naturally enough, to Scudéry's *Mort de César*.

The seven plays named in the two "prologues" are all tragedies from which a moral can be drawn as to the power of love or the fragility of human wisdom and greatness. They were all played for the first time in 1634, 1635, or early in 1636. As they are cited to show the value of Richelieu's favor, it would have been unwise to name any but successful plays in this connection. We may therefore conclude that they were among the most highly esteemed plays of the day. The passages also show that tragedy, largely replaced a few years earlier by tragi-comedy and pastoral, had now returned to favor and met with Richelieu's approval.

Four of the authors mentioned are already known to have received evidence of Richelieu's favor before 1636. Rotrou had been protected by him as early as 1633, according to the dedication of his *Hercule mourant*. He and Corneille were among Richelieu's five dramatic collaborators.² Benserade, as a relative, had been favored by the Cardinal when he first came to court.³ Scudéry had dedicated a poem to Richelieu in 1633 and tells us after his death in 1642 that he had received twelve years of his benefactions.⁴ Hitherto there has

¹ It is so applied to Antony by Benserade, *Cléopâtre*, II, 2; to Tarquin by Chevreau, *Lucrèce*, V, 5; to Scipio by Desmaretz, *Scipion*, in *dramatis personae*; to Pompey by Corneille, *Pompée*, II, 2.

² Cf. Pellisson, *Hist. de l'Acad. fr.*, Paris, 1653, p. 181.

³ Cf. Goujet, *Bibliothèque*, XVIII, 289.

⁴ Cf. Bataillon, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

been no evidence to show that Mairet, Tristan, or La Calprenède had been protected at so early a date.¹

Guérin's omission of Corneille and Tristan may be explained by the fact that he is writing with Scudéry's poem before his eyes. While the former mentions these dramatists, he turns to others, to La Calprenède, Rotrou, and Benserade. Mention by both of the *Mort de César* is due to the fact that one of them is presenting this play to the public, the other a sequel to it. That both mention *Sophonisbe* is more significant. It tends to confirm the opinion that at this time, just before the *Cid*, Mairet's tragedy was considered the leading French play.

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¹ Mairet received a pension in 1637, called a continuation of the Cardinal's "bonnes graces." Cf. Dannheisser, *Studien zu Jean de Mairet's Leben u. Werken*, 1888, p. 36, who has no evidence to show whether or not this liberality began before or after the quarrel over the *Cid*. Tristan's efforts to gain Richelieu's favor in 1635 are described by Bernardin, *Tristan l'Hermite*, p. 177, Paris: Picard, 1895, but he does not show that he was successful at that time. It was not until 1639 that La Calprenède dedicated a play to the Cardinal.

RE-, RI- IN THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*

The problem is to ascertain the function of the prefix *ri-* or its less frequent equivalent *re-* in determining the exact force of the composite words occurring in the *Divina Commedia*.¹ The study, naturally, does not include words in which the prefix and the rest of the word constitute an indivisible whole of specific meaning, as in the case of *ricevere*, *rimanere*, *rispondere*.

There are instances, as will be seen, where the prefix has no ascertainable force (cf. III). In the majority of cases, however, the prefix has an ascertainable force along one or the other of two lines, as follows:

I. The development of an action or condition in the direction of the original impulse as implied in the corresponding simple verb, expressed or unexpressed.

II. The change of direction of original impulsion as implied in the corresponding simple verb.

In the example

Io *dirò* vero e tu 'l *ridì* tra' vivi²

Buonconte instructs Dante to *proceed* with the transmission of the truth, to take up the task which Buonconte is unable to carry on. Contrast it with a verse of the same canto

Che potea io *ridir*, se non "Io vegno"³

wherein *ridir* means "to say in answer" (to Virgil's command), "to answer in return."⁴

¹ Cf., for similar studies in the field of Latin, Roby's *Latin Grammar* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1887-92), and Schoenwitz, *De re- praepositionum usu et notione* (Marburg, 1912); for the French, Meinicke, *Das Präfix re- im Französischen* (Berlin, 1904), and Nyrop, *Grammaire historique*, III, § 459. For data as to general Romance, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire*, II, § 613.

² *Purg.*, V, 103.

³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴ Note the italics in *proceed* and *return*, which bring out the idea of direction. The first example thus illustrates class I and the second is a specific case of II. An interesting Latin case, among others, is *reducta*—"led away" (Meinicke, *op. cit.*, 88, also Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*).

I

Under class I, the following subheads are discernible:

a) REPETITION WITH EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

Illustration: Compare the first example above. Note that both the simple verb *dirò* and the composite *ridì* are expressed.

b) REPETITION WITHOUT EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

Illustration:

Tanto poss'io di quel punto *ridire*.¹

The simple *dire* is not expressed. Otherwise, however, the type of repetition is the same as that of a), i.e., no continuation or frequency is implied. In fact, hardly more than a single reproduction of the act is suggested by the author. This situation is to be contrasted with that of c).

c) CONTINUATION

Illustration:

. . . . ed io inver l'antico
poeta volsi i passi, *ripensando*
a quel parlar che mi pareva nimico.²

The meaning of *ripensando* is not merely "thinking again" but "continually thinking." Sometimes it is "multiple repetition" that is implied (Nyrop, *loc. cit.*), e.g.,

. . . . *rinovando* vista
le minuzie de' corpi, lunghe e corte.³

This "multiple repetition" is really the connecting link between b) and c).

d) REINFORCEMENT

Illustration:

e l'onde in Gange da nona *riarse*.⁴

Torraca's footnote is: "Esprime non tanto frequenza quanto forza." One may say that the idea of reinforcement or emphasis is an effect of continued repetition. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to establish a definite boundary line between the two categories, as in the following example:

E l'ombre, che parean cose *rimorte*.⁵

¹ *Par.*, XVIII, 13.

² *Inf.*, X, 122.

³ *Par.*, XIV, 113.

⁴ *Purg.*, XXVII, 4.

⁵ *Purg.*, XXIV, 4.

If one consults Scartazzini's note to this passage, it will be seen that the critics are far from agreed as to whether this means "more than dead" or "twice dead." A particularity of importance is the stressing of a quality; in this instance (*Purg.*, XXVII, 4), the sun increases the heat of the Ganges. In the same manner the verb *refulse* in the verse

ver lo piacer divin che mi *refulse*¹

means "shone with increased brightness." In fact, the only instance of an adjective occurring in this study falls into this category:

. . . . de' raggi
di che tutte le cose son *ripiene*.²

II

Under the main class II, the following subheads are discernible:

a) REACTION WITH EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

Illustration: Compare the second example on p. 379.

b) REACTION WITHOUT EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

Illustration:

Così l'avria *ripinte* per la strada
ond'eran *tratte*,³

which is to say that their will would have sent them back, i.e., in a direction opposite to that in which malevolent relatives had taken them. In other words, the subject of *ripinte* is *volere*, whereas that of *tratte*, synonymous with *pinte*, is *alme* (vs. 75). The situation is thus the same as that of a), except that *pinte* is not actually expressed. Not all cases are as obvious as the one described, e.g.,

E già il maestro mio mi *richiamava*.⁴

Virgil called him back, but to find the agency that had called him forward, we must go back to verses 22-27:

O Tosco che per la città del foco,

etc., constituting the "call" of Farinata to come and speak with him. The "call back" is the reaction of the "call forward."

¹ *Par.*, XXVII, 95.

² *Par.*, XIX, 54.

³ *Par.*, IV, 85.

⁴ *Inf.*, X, 115.

c) RETROGRESSION

Illustration:

E se di voi alcun nel mondo *riede*,¹

wherein the subject of the composite is the same as that of the implied simple verb. The simple verb is sometimes suggested by the antonym, e.g.,

u' senza *risalir* nessun discende,²

without the general principle of this subhead being changed, i.e., the subject of the *ri-* or *re-* would always be the same as that of the antonym.

d) RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORIGINAL STATE OF AFFAIRS

Illustration:

E la lingua ch' avea unita e presta
prima a parlar, si fende, e la forcuta
ne l'altro si *richiude*. . . .³

The prefix has the effect of restoring a situation at one time existent and subsequently having ceased to exist, or to take up again an action allowed to lapse. In both cases, there is a kind of *revirement*, a "turning back" in the action of the implied simple verb to a clearly indicated point of departure. It is this "turning back" which allows us to classify this subhead under the main heading II, "change of direction."

In the example

del buon dolor ch'a Dio ne *rimarita*,⁴

the cycle is not as obvious as in the first illustration (*avea unita-si fende-si richiude*), but is real, nevertheless, because of the implication of an original union with God. It may be added that although both examples contain verbs of action, they are both indicative of situations, i.e., *closure* in the first, *union* in the second. The last trait is a distinguishing one for this subhead.

III

WEAK FORCE

In all cases discussed thus far, the prefix has active force clearly discernible. We find in the *Divina Commedia*, as has been suggested

¹ *Inf.*, XIII, 76.² *Inf.*, XXV, 135.³ *Par.*, X, 87.⁴ *Purg.*, XXIII, 81.

in the second paragraph of this article, a number of cases where the meaning of the composite is apparently no different from that of the corresponding simple verb.

In the example

Vedi lo sol che in fronte ti *riluce*¹

riluce is clearly not of greater force than *luce*. Sometimes the lack of difference between simple and composite is made obvious by their use in parallel situations, e.g.,

che vive e sente e sè in sè *rigira*,²

the simple *gira* being used in a parallel construction:

volgesi schiera, e sè *gira* col segno,
prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi.³

SUMMARY

The fact that a verb is compounded with *ri-* does not necessarily mean that it is different in meaning from the simple verb corresponding. Where, however, the prefix has meaning it is a "directional" force, whose subheads are related to each other, under the main divisions of maintenance or change of direction, e.g., I: *repetition—continuation—reinforcement*, each proceeding from the one before it; II: *reaction—retrogression—re-establishment*, interrelated through the action of the subject on composite and simple verb, as indicated.

The following list comprises all cases in the *Divina Commedia* of words compounded with *ri-* or *re-*, except those omitted for reasons indicated in the first paragraph. For convenience, entries are given always in the form *ri-* (except *reddire* and *reddita*).

The classification of a given reference in a given paragraph constitutes in effect an interpretation of the word as used in the passage in question, which interpretation is based on a comparative study of words similarly compounded.

When a word occurs in two or more classifications, the fact is indicated by the use of one or more asterisks, a single one for the occurrence of the reference in one additional classification, two asterisks for two additional classifications, etc.

¹ *Purg.*, XXVII, 133.

² *Purg.*, XXV, 75.

³ *Purg.*, XXXII, 20.

Ia

REPETITION WITH EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

<i>ridire</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , V, 103
<i>ridolere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXVI, 19
<i>ripregare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXVI, 66

Ib

REPETITION WITHOUT EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

<i>riandare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXVIII, 42
<i>ribadire</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXV, 8
<i>ribattere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XX, 43
<i>richinare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , VII, 15
<i>ricominciare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XIII, 35, 85; XVI, 19; XXII, 98; <i>Purg.</i> , I, 16; IX, 92; XIV, 77; XXIV, 118; XXV, 129; XXVI, 74; <i>Par.</i> , XIX, 103; XXI, 112; XXIV, 118; XXVI, 12, 55; XXX, 38
<i>ricorcare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , X, 15; VIII, 133
<i>ridire</i> (**)	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 10; VI, 113; <i>Par.</i> , I, 5; XVII, 116; XVIII, 13; XXIV, 24; XXXI, 45
<i>rifiggere</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , XXI, 1
<i>rilegare</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXV, 7
<i>rimorire</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIV, 4
<i>rimpalmare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXI, 9
<i>rinfiammare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XVI, 39
<i>rinfrascare</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIII, 71
<i>riprendere</i> (**)	<i>Par.</i> , XIV, 82; <i>Purg.</i> , IV, 126
<i>riprestare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXXIII, 69
<i>ritrarre</i> (***)	<i>Inf.</i> , II, 66; IV, 145; XVI, 60; <i>Purg.</i> , V, 32; XII, 66; XXXIII, 64; <i>Par.</i> , XIX, 7
<i>riudire</i>	<i>Par.</i> , VIII, 30
<i>rivedere</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIV, 75

Ic

CONTINUATION

<i>rifedere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XX, 105
<i>rifiggere</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , XV, 64
<i>rifigliare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIV, 115
<i>rigirare</i> (**)	<i>Par.</i> , XIX, 91
<i>rimettere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXVIII, 39
<i>rinovare</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , XIV, 113
<i>ripensare</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , X, 122
<i>rivolgere</i> (***)	<i>Purg.</i> , IX, 35

Id

REINFORCEMENT

<i>riardere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXVII, 4
<i>rifulgere</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXVI, 78; XXVII, 95
<i>rigirare</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIII, 125
<i>rimirare</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , II, 53; XXVI, 68, 101; <i>Par.</i> , VIII, 90; IX, 106
<i>rincalzare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXIX, 97; <i>Purg.</i> , IX, 72; <i>Par.</i> , XXI, 130
<i>rinforcire</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXX, 126
<i>ripieno</i> (adj.)	<i>Purg.</i> , XIV, 94; <i>Par.</i> , XIX, 54; XXX, 131
<i>rischiarare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XIV, 69; XXIII, 18
<i>risonare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , III, 23; XVI, 104; <i>Par.</i> , XXIV, 113; XXV, 31; XXVI, 68
<i>risplendere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXVI, 31; <i>Par.</i> , I, 2; II, 105; III, 59; V, 7; X, 85; XI, 19; XV, 21; XVI, 30; XX, 6; XXIX, 15, 26

IIa

REACTION WITH EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

<i>ridire</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , V, 19
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IIb

REACTION WITHOUT EXPRESSED REDUPLICATION

<i>ricalcitrare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , IX, 94
<i>richiamare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , X, 115; XIX, 51
<i>ricredere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIV, 112
<i>ridurre</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XV, 54; <i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 14; XXIII, 115; <i>Par.</i> , VI, 56; XXII, 21
<i>riflettere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXV, 92; <i>Par.</i> , XXX, 107; XXXIII, 119, 128
<i>rifondere</i>	<i>Par.</i> , II, 88
<i>rifrangere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XV, 22; <i>Par.</i> , II, 93; XIX, 6
<i>rilegare</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXI, 18; <i>Par.</i> , III, 30
<i>rimbeccare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXII, 49
<i>rimovere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , IX, 82; XIV, 9, 138; XV, 13; <i>Purg.</i> , VII, 46; XVII, 48; XXXII, 36; <i>Par.</i> , II, 48, 98; XVII, 127; XX, 25
<i>rintoppo</i> (subst.)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXIII, 95
<i>rintertire</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXX, 57
<i>ripercuotere</i>	<i>Par.</i> , II, 102; XXV, 134
<i>ripingere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 60; <i>Purg.</i> , XX, 69; <i>Par.</i> , IV, 85
<i>rimproverare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , III, 3
<i>ritenere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXV, 57; XXVI, 123; <i>Purg.</i> , V, 123; X, 93; <i>Par.</i> , VI, 5; X, 69; XXI, 43
<i>ritrarre</i> (***)	<i>Par.</i> , XXII, 44

<i>riversare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXIII, 93
<i>rivocare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXX, 135; <i>Par.</i> , XI, 135
<i>rivolgere</i> (***)	<i>Purg.</i> , IX, 139; <i>Par.</i> , III, 115

IIc

RETROGRESSION

<i>reddire</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XI, 105; XVIII, 11
<i>reddita</i> (subst.)	<i>Purg.</i> , I, 106
<i>ricadere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , X, 72; <i>Purg.</i> , XXX, 30
<i>ricorrere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , VIII, 114; XXXIV, 126; <i>Par.</i> , XXII, 2; XXXII, 107
<i>ridurre</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , XXIII, 51
<i>riedere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XIII, 76; XXI, 90; XXIV, 12; XXXIV, 96; <i>Purg.</i> , I, 93; III, 114; V, 110; XV, 138; XVII, 63; <i>Par.</i> , IV, 52; VIII, 18; XX, 106; XXI, 97; XXXIII, 60
<i>rimirare</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , IV, 44; XXII, 128
<i>rimontare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XIX, 126; XXVI, 15
<i>riportare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , I, 83
<i>risalire</i>	<i>Par.</i> , I, 50; X, 87; XXXI, 11
<i>risedere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXI, 21
<i>risegare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIII, 2
<i>ritorcere</i>	<i>Par.</i> , III, 22; XXIX, 97, 127
<i>ritrarre</i> (***)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXII, 30; <i>Purg.</i> , II, 19, 83; XXXII, 133; <i>Par.</i> , IV, 111; XXI, 104
<i>riuscire</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , II, 132
<i>rivedere</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXVIII, 24
<i>rivenire</i>	<i>Par.</i> , VII, 82; X, 70
<i>rivolare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , VIII, 108
<i>rivolgere</i> (***)	<i>Par.</i> , XXI, 38

IIId

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF INITIAL CONDITION

<i>riaccendere</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXXI, 55
<i>riarmare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XII, 38
<i>richiudere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXV, 135; XXVIII, 41; <i>Purg.</i> , X, 4; XV, 81; XIX, 25; <i>Par.</i> , XXXII, 4
<i>ricompiere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 107
<i>ricreare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , VII, 96
<i>ricucire</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXV, 139
<i>riempiere</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , VII, 83
<i>rifare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XII, 7; XXIII, 66; XXXIII, 143; <i>Par.</i> , IV, 48; XX, 5; XXVI, 89

<i>rifondare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XIII, 148
<i>reformare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXXII, 13
<i>rigiugnere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XV, 41; <i>Purg.</i> , X, 15
<i>rilevare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , VII, 111, 116
<i>rimaritare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIII, 81
<i>rimembrare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XVI, 12; XXVIII, 73; <i>Purg.</i> , VI, 145; XIV, 104; XXVIII, 49; XXXI, 99; <i>Par.</i> , XXIII, 45; III, 61; XXX, 26
<i>rimemorare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXIX, 81
<i>rimettere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 110; XXVII, 71
<i>rimondare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIII, 107
<i>rinascere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXIV, 107; <i>Purg.</i> , I, 135
<i>rinfamare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIII, 150
<i>rinfrascare</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XIII, 53; <i>Purg.</i> , XXIII, 71; XXVII, 50
<i>ringavagnare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXIV, 12
<i>rinovare</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , VI, 147
<i>rinsequare</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIV, 66
<i>rinverdire</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 105
<i>riparare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXI, 57; <i>Purg.</i> , VIII, 97; <i>Par.</i> , VII, 104; XXII, 150; XXIII, 36
<i>ripiagliare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , VI, 98; <i>Purg.</i> , XX, 142
<i>riporre</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , XVI, 123
<i>riprendere</i> (**)	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 29; XXXIII, 120; XXXIII, 77; <i>Purg.</i> , XXVIII, 125
<i>riprofondare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXX, 68
<i>risentire</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXIII, 49; XXVI, 4
<i>riserrare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXII, 48
<i>ritrovare</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , VIII, 102
<i>rivedere</i> (**)	<i>Inf.</i> , VI, 97; XVI, 83; XXXIV, 139; <i>Purg.</i> , II, 21; XVII, 8; XXVI, 95; XXVIII, 24; <i>Par.</i> , II, 4; VI, 68; XXXI, 68
<i>rivestire</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXX, 15; <i>Par.</i> , XII, 48; XIV, 44
<i>rivivere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XV, 76

III

WEAK FORCE

<i>ribattere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXI, 13
<i>richiedere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 130; II, 54; XIX, 66; <i>Purg.</i> , I, 93; XIII, 142; XIV, 93; <i>Par.</i> , V, 39; XXIX, 117
<i>richiudere</i> (*)	<i>Purg.</i> , XVI, 40; <i>Par.</i> , IX, 44, 102
<i>ricingere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , I, 94
<i>ricircolare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XXXI, 48

<i>ricogliere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , III, 69; <i>Purg.</i> , II, 102, 104; IV, 88; X, 81; XVIII, 86; <i>Par.</i> , XVIII, 69; XXII, 97; XXIII, 21
<i>riconfortare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XVI, 129
<i>ricoperchiare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XIV, 57
<i>ricoprire</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , IX, 10; XIX, 84; XX, 52; XXVII, 42; <i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 139; XXXII, 139
<i>ricorrere</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , XXVI, 71; XXXIII, 14
<i>riempire</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXIII, 99; <i>Par.</i> , IX, 8
<i>rigirare</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXV, 8
<i>riguardare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , III, 52, 70; IV, 5; IX, 53, 107; XI, 12, 85; XIII, 70; XV, 18, 98; XVII, 58; XVIII, 119; XX, 15; XXI, 116; XXIV, 23; XXV, 67, 91; XXVIII, 53, 67, 112; XXXI, 136; <i>Purg.</i> , IV, 54; VI, 59; VIII, 23; XII, 35; XVII, 50; XX, 33; XXI, 22, 110; XXII, 116; XXIV, 12; XXVI, 14, 103; XXVII, 38; XXXI, 69; <i>Par.</i> , I, 47; II, 124; III, 47; X, 133; XI, 20; XVI, 73; XVII, 73; XXI, 101; XXII, 36, 92; XXIII, 46; XXIV, 64; XXVIII, 11; XXIX, 8; XXXI, 44, 67, 92; XXXII, 85
<i>rilevare</i>	<i>Par.</i> , XVIII, 85; XXX, 123
<i>rilucere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 110; XXVII, 133; XXXI, 119; <i>Par.</i> , XXII, 43
<i>rimirare</i> (**)	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 26; XXIII, 86; <i>Purg.</i> , IV, 44; XXIII, 114; <i>Par.</i> , III, 78; X, 6; XVIII, 14, 119; XIX, 93
<i>rimordere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , III, 7; XIX, 132; XXXIII, 93
<i>rinchiudere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XXXI, 51
<i>ripensare</i> (*)	<i>Par.</i> , VII, 146
<i>riporre</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XXXI, 3
<i>riprendere</i> (**)	<i>Purg.</i> , XXIV, 45; XXXII, 121; <i>Par.</i> , IV, 7; XX, 126
<i>riscuotere</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , IV, 2; XXVII, 121; <i>Purg.</i> , IX, 34; <i>Par.</i> , VI, 69
<i>risolvere</i>	<i>Purg.</i> , XIII, 88; <i>Par.</i> , II, 135
<i>ristare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , II, 121; X, 24; XII, 58; XVI, 19; XVIII, 44; XX, 86; XXIII, 82; XXV, 38; <i>Purg.</i> , IV, 45; X, 20; XVIII, 116; XXIII, 18; XXV, 96; XXVIII, 34; XXXIII, 15
<i>ristoppare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , XXI, 11
<i>ritenere</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , XVIII, 85; <i>Purg.</i> , XVIII, 129; XXIV, 56; <i>Par.</i> , XIII, 2; XXXII, 84
<i>ritornare</i>	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 36, 76; VII, 122; VIII, 91, 96; XV, 33; XXII, 132; XXIV, 10, 105; XXXIV, 134; <i>Purg.</i> , XXXII, 77, 105; XXXIII, 142; <i>Par.</i> , II, 15; X, 133; XXI, 37; XXII, 133; XXV, 8; XXX, 8, 114
<i>ritrarre</i> (***)	<i>Inf.</i> , III, 106; <i>Purg.</i> , I, 110
<i>ritrovare</i> (*)	<i>Inf.</i> , I, 2; <i>Par.</i> , II, 99; V, 69; XXXIII, 134

- rivelare* *Purg.*, III, 143
rivolgere (***) *Inf.*, II, 47; V, 115; VII, 7, 29; VIII, 7, 117; IX, 100;
 XI, 94; XII, 139; XIV, 67; XV, 12, 15; XVII, 103;
 XXX, 48; *Purg.*, III, 3, 23, 123; V, 7; VI, 120; IX,
 139; XVII, 81; XVIII, 25; XIX, 18, 62, 98; XXVIII,
 7, 145; XXIX, 55; XXXI, 42; XXXII, 16, 155;
Par., I, 47, 142; II, 100; III, 28, 115; V, 85; VI, 64, 71;
 VIII, 43; IX, 8; XIV, 135; XV, 32; XVIII, 7, 52;
 XXII, 19, 154; XXXIII, 11, 71; XXIV, 106; XXVIII,
 7, 13

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RICHARDSON, YOUNG, AND THE CONJECTURES

On the death of Samuel Richardson seven or eight folio volumes of his correspondence came into the possession of his son-in-law Edward Bridgen, who in 1787 left them to Anne Richardson, a daughter of the novelist. When she died in 1804 the grandchildren sold the correspondence to Richard Phillips, the well-known publisher.¹ Under Mrs. Barbauld's editorship the letters were selected, curtailed, and drastically rearranged in the six rather dull volumes which students of Richardson have turned over for more than a hundred years. In 1813 Richard Phillips, as editor of the *Monthly Magazine*, began to publish a long series of letters between Young and Richardson, with an introductory notice which deserves to be quoted in part:

It may deserve explanation that these letters are printed from the originals in the handwriting of the parties, as preserved by Mr. Richardson, and now in the possession of the editor of the *Monthly Magazine*; and that 126 of them were arranged and numbered by himself for posthumous publication. Nearly a score of them were printed in the *Richardson Miscellaneous Correspondence*, but the necessity of giving specimens of the whole of Mr. R.'s correspondence in that limited collection, rendered necessary a curtailment of that with Dr. Young.²

The caption promises "one hundred and fifty original letters," and we find approximately that number scattered through twelve volumes of the *Monthly Magazine*, from 1813 to 1819.³ Thomas has used bits from these letters in his definitive study of Young,⁴ but Henry C. Shelley in his more recent *Life and Letters of Edward Young* (1914) seems to be unaware of their existence. What is even more surprising,

¹ See Aleyn Lyell Reade, "Samuel Richardson and His Family Circle," *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, XII (1923), 6.

² *Monthly Magazine*, XXXVI (1813), 418.

³ These letters are not in the six folios of Richardson's correspondence in the Forster Collection at the South Kensington Museum. W. Thomas, *Le Poète Edward Young* (Paris, 1901), p. 627, reports that this material contains nothing of importance on Young. See also the Table of Contents given by Clara Linklater Thomson, *Samuel Richardson* (London, 1900), pp. 292-93, and Erich Poetzsche, *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit* (Kiel, 1908), p. 92; and the statement of the librarian of the South Kensington Museum as reported by Helen Sard Hughes, "A Letter to Richardson from Edward Young," *MLN*, XXXVII (1922), 316.

⁴ Pp. 176, 178, 180, 193, 194, 198, 352, 425, 426.

no study of the *Conjectures on Original Composition* has made use of the considerable material here provided, which enables us to follow that fascinating piece of prose through a preliminary version and a bewildering process of re-writing to the text that was published in 1759. The purpose of this paper is to calendar and analyze such parts of the correspondence as yield new evidence for the history of the *Conjectures*.

The letters plunge into the subject without warning. On December 21, 1756, Young sends some manuscript to Richardson with a note to this effect: "I know not the merit or demerit of what I send; if it has merit I beg you give it more."¹ In an undated reply Richardson promises that he will read the copy at leisure—"What a sweet repast for the retired part of the evening will your subject be!"² In another undated note Young says he has already planned additions to the letter, but will not send for the manuscript until Richardson has had time to read and revise it;³ and on January 13, 1757, he writes: "I am by no means in haste with regard to what you mention; the longer the papers are in your hands the kinder and the better."⁴ The next day Richardson sends a long letter offering so many comments and revisions that we can make out some of the salient features of the first draft. Young had evidently begun with a panegyric on Richardson and friendship, whereupon the novelist protests in his characteristic fluttering style:

"What favours have I received at your hands?" At the hands of the author of *Sir Charles Grandison*! Dear sir, has not the account been more than balanced? Surely, this is beyond the merit of this author, and, as well here as in many other passages, you do him too much honour.⁵

It is particularly important to notice that in this draft Richardson is named as the one who asked Young to enter on the discussion:

As you do the writer of the history of Sir Charles Grandison the honour of directing to him your two letters, and give him other honours, which modesty will not allow him to claim, will it not look to some that his request to you to write on the two subjects, "Original" and "Moral," was made to you in hopes of receiving some kind compliments from your friendly partiality; could not, therefore, some powerful and deserving friend be substituted, as

¹ "Letter CII," *Monthly Magazine*, XLII (1816), 41. References to the correspondence are hereafter made by giving the original number of the letter, followed by volume and page of the *Monthly Magazine*.

² CIII, *ibid.*

³ CIV, *ibid.*

⁴ CVII, *ibid.*, XLII, 332.

⁵ CVIII, *ibid.*

knowing I have the honour of corresponding with his valued Dr. Young, to put me upon requesting you to touch upon these two subjects? And will not the requester be of more proper importance to engage such a pen? I conceive that the alteration may be easily made; suppose like this—"Your worthy patron, our common friend, by putting you on the request you make me, both flatters and distresses me. How can I comply!"¹

Thus the problem of identifying "your worthy patron and our common friend" disappears, and Steinke was right when he suggested that this reference was merely a "polite pretext."² Of the ultimate origin of the *Conjectures* there is no further evidence in the letters.

In general, Richardson's comments betray not so much enthusiasm for original genius as eagerness to depreciate the *dii majores* of secular literature in favor of a new Christian dispensation. He would break the molds of neo-classicism to make way for pietism. He is eager, on the one hand, to curb his friend's phrases and epigrams when they seem to disregard religious orthodoxy, and, on the other, to sharpen the polemic of the *Conjectures*. In the final text there is a brilliant comparison of learning and genius, followed by an incongruously solemn warning against setting genius above divine truth.³ The purple patch is Young's; the solemn warning is Richardson's. His monitory paragraph was adopted practically entire, but it is worth quoting here, together with his postscript:

But here, my friend, let me digress into a caution against the automathers, the self-taught philosophers, of the age, who set up genius above, not human learning, but divine truth. I have called genius wisdom, but let it be remembered, that in the most refined ages of heathen genius, when the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God, by the *foolishness of preaching, to save them that believed*. In the fairy land of fancy, genius wanders wild; it hath there almost a creative power, and may reign over its empire of chimeras. The wide field of nature is also before it, and there, as far as visible nature extends, it may freely extend its discoveries. But can the noblest original painter give us the portrait of a seraph? No: he can give but what he sees, though what he sees he can infinitely compound and embellish. But can genius, human genius, strike out divine truth unrevealed? Be the statuary ever so excellent, he can never produce a diamond statue out of a marble block.

¹ Pp. 332-33. Cf. *Conjectures on Original Composition*, ed. Edith J. Morley (Manchester, 1918), p. 4. Page references below are to this edition.

² M. W. Steinke, *Edward Young's Conjectures on Original Composition in England and Germany* (New York, 1917), p. 5.

³ Pp. 17-18.

This digression is long. I was frightened, I was shocked, at the thought, that some unballasted mind, warm in the confidence of youth, might possibly be misled by this unguarded pen into the most fatal of all errors.

Other brief comments are pitched in this same key:

Would you choose, good sir, to illustrate the merits of authors by an allusion to so sadly solemn a truth, as the fall of our first parent? Especially as it hath too often been sported with by those whose intentions were totally different from yours?

As I presume that Lucretius need not be set up for an example, however original, would it not be enough to quote his words without his name?

Would you choose, sir, to join Adam and Pallas together? Has not Milton too often mingled the Christian and Pagan theologies?

In two cases Richardson offers passages that deal positively with Young's conception of genius, but here he is probably re-writing Young rather than making additions of his own:

As for translations and imitations, those echoes of another's voice; shadows of another's worth; those weakly brats dropt by the fame of ancient authors at almost every door, and by childless moderns fathered as their own; the great originals, in whose right we pretend to inherit, are still themselves in actual possession, and, by the art of printing, secured in it from Goths and flames, and the mouldering hand of Time; and, like Saturn, who was said to have devoured his own children, swallow up the fame of their progeny in the blaze of their own superior glory. . . .

Suppose, sir, when you ask, What does the name of poet mean? you answer after some such manner as this—*It means a maker*, and, consequently, *his work is something original, quite his own*. It is not the laboured improvement of a modern cultivator bestowed on a soil already fertile, and refining on a plan already formed; but the touch of Armida's wand, that calls forth blooming spring out of the shapeless waste, and presents in a moment objects new and various, which his genius only could have formed in that peculiar manner, and his taste only arranged with that peculiar grace. These two enchanting gifts of taste and genius were *possessed by Shakspeare in a surprising degree, in both dramas, &c.*

When Young argues that if Pope had made himself an original his work would have been of transcendent merit, Richardson feels that the implications here are altogether too favorable, and dissents on religious grounds:

Pope's, sir, I venture to say, was not the genius *to lift our souls to Heaven*, had it soared ever so freely, since it soared not in the Christian beam; but there is an eagle, whose eyes pierce through the shades of midnight, that does *indeed transport us*, and the apotheosis is yours. Whether this may suggest

any softening, or any improvement to the passage, must be submitted to you; but, surely, an *heroic* poem ought not to be mentioned in these terms, which so exactly belong to a *divine* one. The author of one wishes to have his name swim down the stream of time on the wreck of Bolingbroke; the other dedicates his early muse to *Him who gave him voice*, and consequently *his work is remote from all imitation*. Should there not be here some distinction of *imitators of other authors*, and imitation of nature, in which respect poetry is called one of the imitative arts? The tame imitator of other poets is a copier of portraits, the true genius a noble painter of originals, to whom nature delights to sit in every variety of attitude.

Indeed, sir, I cannot imagine that Pope would have shone in blank verse; and do you really think he had invention enough to make him a great poet? Did he not want the assistance of rhyme, of jingle? What originality is there in the works for which he is most famed? Shall I say, that I wish you would be pleased to reconsider all you say of the creative power of Pope?¹

Richardson also demurs against praise of Dryden:

Considering how very licentious and wretched in every view most of Dryden's comedies are, can it be said he writ them for eternity? Suppose it be thus altered, "He writ tragedy for subsistence, and his other compositions for fame; and if he had had no other wing to reach even eternal fame let his *incomparable ode*," &c.

But his eagerness to belittle secular genius appears most clearly in the following passage:

"Shakspeare, Bacon, Newton," are great originals.—Forgive me for omitting *great men*, because, strictly speaking, Bacon—

"The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"

was not therefore, strictly speaking, a *great man*; and, though Shakspeare as an *author* was so far *greater* than Addison, as more an *original*, yet he was inferior to him as a man; because, in his best writings, *less useful*—for *man* to *man* is only *great* with respect to his filling the important purposes for which man was made. But are not the three originals I have named men of detached excellence, *bordering*, &c.

Pray, sir, may it not be hinted, as a piece of justice, that Addison was sometimes *original*; and, in his Sir Roger, as much so as Shakspeare.

In view of the important position which Addison takes in the final form of the *Conjectures*, this passage is most significant. Evidently Addison did not loom large in Young's original project, and the theory that Young planned his essay primarily to enshrine

¹ Richardson's consistently unfavorable attitude toward Pope appears also in the excerpts from unpublished parts of his correspondence given by Poetzsche, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

the story of Addison's death is untenable.¹ Indeed, this story apparently made no part of the original draft. The question of how it came in, like King Charles's head in Mr. Dick's memorial, will require further discussion as the evidence presents itself. Richardson's comment shows that whatever praise Young may have given Addison, he did not at this juncture put him in the first rank of originals, and did not dwell at length either on his moral or his original genius. Richardson evidently wanted Young to make more of Addison in both respects. The space which Addison occupies in the conclusion as we have it was filled in the preliminary version by a long moralizing passage, some sort of *caveat* against the universal passion. This we may infer from Richardson's warm approval:

How noble, how admirable is your conclusion! I am inspired by it to offer the following to your forgiving consideration.

Are not love of vain fame, and forgetfulness of certain death, both to be accounted for from human abuse of divine goodness?

And so our commentator goes on to offer for incorporation in the text a long passage on the fear of death, so irrelevant to the theme of original genius that he would hardly have suggested it if Young had not given the cue by making a transition from genius to the love of fame and the vanity of human wishes.

Young gratefully acknowledged Richardson's annotations on January 20, and a month later planned to spend a night with Richardson that his critic might hear the letter read, "as now, by your assistance, amended."² In May, Richardson had the manuscript again in his hands, and alluded thus to the continuation of the project:

How proceed you in your second letter? Hurt not yourself, good sir, by your kind partiality to a man happy in your good opinion; and then how shall I rejoice to read in print such noble instances of the doctrine you advance in favour of the moderns! Surely, sir, this piece is the most spirited and original of all your truly spirited and original works! What memory, what recollection, does it display. With all the experience of years, it has all the fire and (corrected) imagination of youth.³

¹ For an interpretation which makes the story of Addison's death central, see Horace W. O'Connor, "Addison in Young's *Conjectures*," *MLN*, XXXV (1920), 24-26; and Professor Bright's comment, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.

² OVIII (by error for CIX), *op. cit.*, XLII, 335. CIX (February 24, 1757), *ibid.*, XLIII, 327.

³ CXI (May 10, 1757). *ibid.*, p. 327.

We may infer that, in accordance with the plan broached at the outset, the second letter was to be on moral genius, and this is quite consistent with Richardson's implication that it was to contain a defense of the moderns, for of course the superiority of the moderns, in his eyes, rested solely on their Christian ethics.—But Young was ill at ease: "I have written a second letter, but it by no means pleases me—the subject is too common, and I cannot keep out of the footsteps of my predecessors."¹ One naturally compares this with a sentence near the opening of the *Conjectures*: "I begin with *Original Composition*; and the more willingly, as it seems an original subject to me, who have seen nothing hitherto written on it." The essayist of the *Conjectures* could no longer be content with the sounding platitudes which the subject of moral genius would naturally call forth. Young wrote at the end of July: "I shall speak of the second letter when I have the pleasure of seeing you. I have great avocations, and cannot succeed to my wish."²

In November, Young went to Bath, and in the spring of 1758 he published a sermon, but there is no further word of the *Conjectures* until October of that year, when Young sends a revision of the first letter, and thus refers to the most important change therein:

I have added some things, in which I cannot acquiesce without your judgment on them. I have added, as you desired, Mr. Addison's death; and particularly request your kind assistance with regard to that.³

Now Richardson at last has his way, and the character of Addison is glorified. Just how this came about we do not know. It is probable, however, that Young first planned to use the story of Addison's death in the second letter, where it naturally belonged as an illustration of moral genius; and that Richardson seized on this piece of material, suggesting that it be given the place of honor in the first letter, and be used to reinforce that passage in the original draft which, as he felt, failed to do justice to the literary and moral merits of Addison. But when this episode, possibly from the second letter, was interpolated in the first, it crowded out some of the material on original genius. This is suggested in Richardson's acknowledgment of the revised version:

Do I not miss many fine strokes? Have you not much reduced it? I am

¹ CXII, *ibid.*, p. 328.

² CXIX, *ibid.*, XLIV, 327.

³ CXXXI, *ibid.*, p. 330.

charmed with what you have added of Mr. Addison. . . . Mean time, may I not hope that you will proceed with the other part of your excellent design?¹ The existence of this additional material, excised to make room for the pious digression, probably accounts for Young's curious postscript to the letter as we have it:

How far *Addison* is an *Original*, you will see in my next; when I descend from this consecrated ground into his sublunary praise; And great is the descent, tho' into noble heights of *intellectual* power.

As it stands, this of course contradicts the project of devoting the second letter to moral themes, but it becomes intelligible when we consider that the moral material had already crowded out some of the remarks on original genius, which Young nevertheless was eager to set forth.

Although Richardson was responsible for the incongruous combination of the two themes, he soon began to find fault with it. In sending back the manuscript for further revision, he says what should have occurred to him long before:

When in the former part you say so many glorious things in behalf of original writing; and to discourage imitations, so justly extol the great men of antiquity, as well as among the moderns; yet in the last part make such mere nothings of all human attainments and genius; I could not but wish that the piece was made two distinct pieces, or subjects: for they are both laudable in a high degree; one for the delight of learned men; the other, and, doubtless, the most eligible, for the sake of true piety and our everlasting welfare.²

Young answers: "I shall take the advice in your last, and separate the heterogeneous parts";³ but such a division was never carried out.

A long series of Richardson's comments on the second version begins in the important letter of December 26, 1758. The opening was entirely re-written; in place of the elaborate dedication to Richardson and the moralizing passage on friendship was put an introduction designed to point forward to the story of Addison. The passage evidently owes much to Richardson, for it is given in full in his catalogue of suggested changes:

And perhaps not over-important in its end.—yet, dear sir, afterwards the introduction of that noble anecdote is mentioned as its end, and an important

¹ CXXXII, *op cit.*, p. 330. And compare a later remark of Richardson's, after the publication of the *Conjectures*: "Give me leave to say, that I miss, on reperusal, passages which gave me great pleasure, in the classical part [shall I call it] of the piece."—CXLV (May 24, 1759), *ibid.*, XLVII, 135.

² CXL (December 18, 1758), *ibid.*, XLVI, 45.

³ CXXXV (no date), *ibid.*, XLV, 238. Obviously a reply to CXL, although the two are not printed consecutively in the *Monthly Magazine*.

one. Allow me to ask, Is not expectation here too greatly raised? Suppose some such change as this—in *its end*; rewarding myself, however, with digressing into subjects more important, and from which my thoughts ought not, at this season of life, to make too long excursions. A serious thought, standing single among many of a lighter kind, will sometimes strike the careless wanderer, who roamed only for amusement, with useful awe: as monumental marble, scattered in a wide pleasure-garden, (and such there are), will call to recollection those who would never have gone to seek it in a church-yard full of mournful yews.—To one such monument I may conduct you, within which the sepulchral lamp still burns; but, unlike those of old, will not be extinguished, but made illustrious, by being produced after so long a time, in open day.—Consider, then, the lighter parts of my work as irregular walks, which the superannuated gardener hath not strength . . . to trim up very nicely; but which yet he makes as pleasant as he can, because every one leads to some wholesome spot, or useful point of view.¹

Richardson also re-wrote or perhaps added the following passages:

Among these are the languors of old age. If those are held honourable who, in an hand benumbed by Time, have grasped the just sword in defence of their country; shall they be less esteemed whose unsteady pen still vibrates to the last in the cause of religion, of virtue, of learning? Both are happy in this, that, by fixing their attention on objects most important, they escape numberless little anxieties, and that *taedium vitae*, which hangs often so heavy on its evening hours. May not this intimate some apology for my *spilling ink*, and spoiling paper, so late in life? . . .

After all, the first ancients had no merit in being *original*; they could *not* be *imitators*. Modern writers have a *choice* to make: they may soar in the regions of Liberty, or move in the soft and shining fetters of *fair Imitation*; and she has as many plausible reasons to urge, as *Pleasure* had to offer to *Hercules*. Hercules made the choice of an hero; and, as such, is ennobled.²

The letter proceeds with trivial comments as far as the passage on Pope (p. 26). Young in reply gives Richardson large credit for the revised opening:

Your *dele* of my parade at the beginning is most just and judicious.

Your *monumental marbles*, most beautiful, and the happiest thought in the world for my purpose.

I would have the part I now send put to the press as soon as you please; and the remaining part of the *first letter* shall be sent you soon.³

¹ CXXXVI, *ibid.*, XLV, 238. Cf. *Conjectures*, pp. 1–2. Croft, in the "Life of Young" printed in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, simply takes this revised introduction as a statement of Young's primary purpose: "Young's chief inducement to write this letter was, as he confesses, that he might erect a monumental marble to the memory of an old friend."—*Lives of the Poets* (Oxford, 1905), III, 386.

² Cf. *Conjectures*, pp. 6, 10.

³ CXXXVII. *op. cit.*, p. 239.

The last part was sent on January 11, 1759: "I conclude with Mr. Addison, and that part more particularly entreats your kind correction." Spence, to whom the letter has been read, praises its vivacity, but Young still fears it is too long.¹

On January 24 we have Richardson's comments on this second and last instalment, which evidently began with the passage on Swift (p. 28). He gives passages on the originality of Pope of which we have only condensations in the present text. He questions whether Pope cherished the plan of an epic at the time of his death:

Is your information true here, sir? I have heard, that he did not more than *talk* of such a design that he once had. I believe, either Dr. Warburton or Mr. Mallet, or both, would have let us know this, had there been the least room for it.²

The strictures on Pope's literary dictatorship are more severe in Richardson's letter than in the final draft:

But was for softening tyranny into the appearance, at least, of lawful monarchy; though, when provoked, his punishments were severe, and sometimes arbitrary. All dunces (and who of his friends and admirers did he deem such? Who that were not so did he deem otherwise?) he looked upon as criminals by nature, and dreaded them as Sparta the Helots. Addison, born to rightful sway, reigned mildly as a parent, and was best pleased to reign by the public voice.³

The comments take a moralistic turn when he suggests an expansion of Young's passing comment on the degradation of the stage.

Not swept so clean, did I say? To our stage in its present state (and yet its present state is much better than it hath been in some former times),

¹ CXXXVIII, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

² CXXXIX, *ibid.*, XLVI, 43. Presumably Young made no change on this point, for we read in the text: "Therefore, though we stand much obliged for his giving us an *Homer*, yet had he doubled our obligation, by giving us—a *Pope*. Had he a strong imagination, and the true sublime? That granted, we might have had two *Homers* instead of one, if longer had been his life; for I heard the dying swan talk over an epic plan a few weeks before his decease" (p. 30). The reference is no doubt to Pope's plan for an epic in blank verse on the arrival of Brutus in Britain, mentioned by Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (London, 1806), I, 274, and given at length in Warton's edition of Pope (London, 1797), IV, 359–71. George Sherburn, *Notes on the Canon of Pope's Works*, "Manly Anniversary Studies" (Chicago, 1923), p. 170, points out the connection between Pope's interest in Aaron Thompson's translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the plan for *Brutus*, which would therefore go back to about 1717. Warton looked on this project with less favor than Young: "Such was the outline of this Poem, which, if he had finished, it would not, perhaps, have added much to his reputation" (*op. cit.*, p. 370). Cf., also, the letter of January 14, quoted above, in which Richardson doubts the possibility of Pope's succeeding in blank verse.

³ Cf. *Conjectures*, p. 42.

the stables of Augaeus were a place of safety and neatness. In those stables men were devoured by horses: in our licentious comedies, how often does the brute devour the nobler man; devour his body and soul too? What a mass of corruption? [sic] Were there an Hercules to extirpate the wild beast, who is often too rampant, even in our tragedies, the theatre might easily become again a temple sacred to virtue and improvement: but, till then, what do we more in bringing on now and then a play, be it ever so correct and blameless, than endeavour to sweeten a pestilential vault by pouring in, once a twelvemonth, a pint of rose-water?¹

This passage Young wisely rejected.

When Richardson comes to the chief matter, the death of Addison, he has no far-reaching changes to suggest. The passage beginning, "But, you say, that you knew his value already" (p. 44), stands in the notes in a somewhat different form. He sometimes offers pious ejaculations instead of corrections:

Had been immortal,—though he had never writ. Yes, surely, had he been the most unlettered good Christian, he had been immortal by the best title; even though he had died the most suddenly. . . .

How came this anecdote, so honourable to human nature, to lie so long unknown? Alas, my dear friend, the world thinks differently from us on points like these. He who falls in a duel is talked of as dying honourably. The despairing suicide attracts an honourable attention for a while: but, in general, the living scene occupies the talk of the day; and, in that too, the bad makes most noise, while the good is sunk in silence. Petty efforts in arts or arms are echoed far and near: they glitter of themselves in the world's eye. But that *faith which overcometh the world* will be little regarded by it: and such was Addison's. When his soul scarce animated his body, faith and charity animated it into a warm effort at saving more than his own. . . . O! that the contrast of Lord B.'s death, cursing and blaspheming, could be introduced: very dreadful I have heard it was.²

He asks for precise evidence:

Should there not, sir, be given some more particular proof of the truth of this story, (Lord W. and Mr. A. only present, and the former not a good young man),—than an allusion to Tickell's *Lives*; and Mr. A. said, to expire as soon as he had spoken the admirable sentence? The particulars must have been had from some one: why not name from whom? You write the story now for the world.

Evidently Young inserted later the specific statement that Tickell had been present at Addison's death, and "before his eyes were dry" had told Young the story (p. 47).

¹ Pp. 43-44. *Of. Conjectures*, p. 35.

² *Of. ibid.*, pp. 44, 46.

Richardson also has uncomfortable misgivings on artistic and moral grounds:

Shall I dare to think that there are stiffnesses, not usual to Dr. Y.'s pen, here and there, in this latter part. But what affects me most of all is, that there may not be wanting some, who, from such very great things being said, and so much, of Mr. Addison's death, by so admired an author, and so good a Christian and divine, will be apt to think less of a still incomparably greater death, both in manner and fact, had both been mere men,—as well as in efficacy. In this latter, however, Dr. Y. will take care that Mr. A. appear but as an *imitator*, and a *very very* humble one,—though great as a mortal in that light.

All this discussion was on the very eve of intended publication. In an undated note which must fall somewhere between the eighteenth and the twenty-second of December, Young says: "What I send, I would have now printed; the rest shall follow. I would have but a small number printed."¹ Answering these directions on the twenty-second, Richardson asks whether the format is to be the same as that of the *Centaur not Fabulous*, and remonstrates: "Why, Sir, but a small number?—Shall it be 500, 750, or 1,000?"² Undoubtedly,—Richardson's profuse comments of December 26 and January 24 and Young's eagerness to revise give a sufficient explanation of the delay in publication. At the end of January, Young writes: "Where I have not taken you at length I have often taken the hint, and made the best use of it that I could."³ There is no more word of the essay until April, when Young sends directions about the distribution of complimentary copies.⁴ In an undated note which must have been written in May, when the *Conjectures* was at last in the press, he still clings to the idea of revision: "If there should be any future impression, please to let me know it, for I have something to alter and add."⁵ And the jealous pride of the author speaks out in the midst of it all: "I have seen my *Letter* advertised but twice: this is not allowing it fair play. I wish you could let me know, by your nephew's pen, why it is denied the assistance which is given to other publications?"⁶—

¹ CXXXV, *op. cit.*, XLV, 238.

² CXLI, *ibid.*, XLVI, 45.

³ CXXX, *ibid.*, XLIV, 330.

⁴ CXLII, *ibid.*, XLVI, 45.

⁵ CXLIII, *ibid.*, XLVII, 134.

⁶ CXLIV, *ibid.*

this in spite of all his professions *de contemptu mundi*. Young's injured vanity was salved by a long letter from Richardson on May 24 which gives much interesting detail about the reception of the *Conjectures*:

The Speaker repeatedly thanks you; and bid me tell you, that he was highly pleased with the spirited performance. He read to me passages with which he was most struck; and bid me tell you that he was beginning to read it again, which he should do with an avidity equal to that which at first possessed him. Mr. Johnson is much pleased with it: he made a few observations on some passages, which I encouraged him to commit to paper, and which he promised to do, and send to you.

Mr. Millar tells me that he has but very few left: so small a number as was printed, I wonder he has any. Mr. Dodsley's must surely be near gone. Be pleased, then, to send up your additions, &c.—Dr. Warburton commends highly the spirit of the piece; and with a few observations and explanations, subscribes to the merit of the whole. That good man, Mr. Allen, of Bath, is pleased with every line of it; and warmly expressed to me, on a visit he made me at Parsons'-green, his approbation. Your promised succeeding *Letter* is much wished for: is it, sir, in forwardness? I hope it is. Had not your agreement with the booksellers best be postponed till they, united, make a more formidable appearance as to bulk?—no small consideration with booksellers, with regard to the works of a favourite author.¹

The next day Young writes to express his eagerness for further criticism:

I shall not send a copy till I have the pleasure of Mr. Johnson's letter on the points he spoke of to you; and please to let him know that I impatiently wait for it.

Pray be frank with me; do you not wish that on Addison was shorter still?

What would I give for Dr. Warburton's remarks?—They might be of great use.²

Richardson's reply of May 29 is the only letter on the *Conjectures* printed by Mrs. Barbauld; he reiterates his regret at the effect of the introduction of the Addison episode, says he has written to Dr. Johnson, and repeats a remark of Warburton's "that the character of an original writer is not confined to subject, but extends to manner."³

¹ CXLV, *ibid.*, p. 135.

² CXLVI, *ibid.*

³ CXLVII, *ibid.*, pp. 136–37. *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, II, 54–56.—Warburton's dictum was already a commonplace in this discussion. In "Letter CXXVI" (n.d.), *op. cit.*, XLIV, 329, Young had written: "Manner (as Dr. W. says), may be original; but a manner different from that of the ancients, with good judges, will run a great risque—a risque which new subject will escape." Warburton repeats the saying when he refers to the *Conjectures* in a letter to Hurd, May 17, 1759 (*Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate* [Kidderminster, n.d.], p. 210).

This letter is probably answered by an undated note of Young's: "It was very kind in you to send to Mr. Johnson's; and unfortunate to me that you sent in vain."¹

Here, despite the promise of a second letter, the references abruptly cease. But these letters have sufficed to put the *Conjectures* in their immediate setting and to give some details of chronology. They help to explain the intrusion of the story of Addison's death by supporting the probability that the two themes of original and moral genius were telescoped in a single letter, under the pressure of Richardson's comments. They show that Richardson was not merely the passive recipient of a dedication, that at times he assumed the sprightly style of the *Conjectures*, but more often played the part of a pietistic critic as a foil to the more radical romanticism of Young.

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¹ OXXVII, *op. cit.*, XLIV, 329. Apparently printed out of sequence in the *Monthly Magazine*.

WHO WAS BRIAN DES ILLES?

One of the leading characters in the latter part of the *Perlesvaus*, of whom, curiously enough, there is no mention in the earlier sections, is a certain Brian des Illes. Is it possible to identify this personage?

We first hear of him as the protector of Kay, who, when his murder of the king's son, Lohot, is discovered, flies to Lesser Britain, to Brian des Illes, "a knight of great strength and hardiment, for all Great Britain had had many disputes between him and King Arthur" (Branch XIX, 7). At the close of the tournament for the *Cercle d'Or*, Gawain meets a squire who tells him civil war has broken out in Arthur's land, owing to the long absence of the king (who has gone on pilgrimage with Gawain and Lancelot). Brian des Illes and Kay are burning and plundering the land. Arthur and his companions are on their way to a tournament, the prize of which is the golden crown and steed of a queen, now dead. Arthur wins the tournament, and learns that the deceased queen is none other than Guenevere. The squire has been sent to seek for Arthur and warn him of the queen's death, and that Brian is besieging Cardoil (Br. XXI, 23, 26). In XXIV, 13-20 we read how Lancelot went to the rescue of Cardoil and defeated Brian.

We next find him (XXVI, 4) besieging Pannenoisance, where he is defeated by Arthur and taken prisoner. Arthur keeps him in prison till he gives him surety of his lands, and becomes the King's man, whereon Arthur makes him seneschal. But Brian is furiously jealous of Lancelot; and when King Claudas sends a messenger to court to complain of Lancelot during the latter's absence, Brian sides with him, to the resentment of the other knights (XXVII, 3-8). Lancelot returns to court, and Brian is sent in his place to defend the land against King Madeglant, but, being at heart no friend to Arthur, puts up a feeble resistance, and allows Madeglant and his paynims to ravage the land (XXVIII, 1-3). He returns to court and warns Arthur against Lancelot's supposed ambitions (XXIX).

Brian and Claudas plot to drive Lancelot from court, and so work upon the King that he throws his faithful knight into prison (XXX, 17-22). We hear nothing more of this rivalry, but a concluding passage, found only in the Brussels MS, says that the romance was followed by the story of the war made by Brian and Claudas against Arthur for the sake of Lancelot.

We may note that Brian is not here the hero of any special adventure; he is first a turbulent and rebellious knight, who stirs up war against Arthur and, when forced to submit, creates mischief between the King and his loyal knights. He is throughout a provoker of civil disturbance.

This is the only one of our extant romances in which Brian plays a part, but his name is mentioned on several occasions. In the *Perceval* (Wauchier) continuation it is found both in the list of the knights who go to seek Perceval, and in that of those present at the tournament before Chastel Orgueilleux.¹

It is worth noting here that, as a rule, his name follows that of *Le valet au Cercle d'Or*, and that in the Dutch romance of *Torec*, Briant, king of the *rode eylant*, marries the lady of the *Cyrkel van goude*. Though the two are here in no way connected, the *Perlesvaus*, which is the only one of our extant romances in which Brian des Illes figures, is also the only one which recounts the adventure of the *Cercle d'Or*.² In *Erec* we are told that Brian had sent the gift of a wonderfully carved armchair to Arthur (l. 6720).

It is of course a question of extreme importance to determine whether all these references may legitimately be ascribed to a knowledge of the *Perlesvaus* on the part of the different writers, or whether there had existed an earlier, and now lost, story connected with Brian des Illes. If we can show that the character of Brian and the rôle assigned to him in our romance in all probability repose upon genuine historical data, we shall, I submit, have a sound argument in favor of the early existence of the *Perlesvaus*.

It has hitherto escaped the attention of scholars that there actually was, in the twelfth century, a personage who, both in name and in

¹ Cf. MSS B N 12576, ff. 125 vo., 138 vo., 139; B N 12577, f. 194; B N 1429, ff. 255, 273; B N 1453, ff. 178 vo., 194; Montpellier, f. 211 vo.; B M Add. 36, 614, f. 249.

² Cf. Jonckbloet's *Lancelot*, Book iii. 11. 23, 122-26, 980.

rôle, corresponds closely with the Brian of the *Perlesvaus*, namely, Brian, natural son of Alan Fergant, Count of Brittany, variously designated as Brian Fitz Count, Brian de Wallingford, Brian de Insula, or Brian de l'Isle.

Although the son of the Count of Brittany, Brian was brought up at the court of Henry I of England, and throughout his life was closely attached to the fortunes of that king's daughter, the Empress Matilda.

In 1126 Brian, with Robert of Gloucester, her half-brother, conducted the widowed Empress to France, for her marriage with Geoffrey of Anjou. When after the death of her father Matilda claimed the throne, Brian at once espoused her cause, and, with Robert and Miles of Gloucester, was her principal adherent. In her flight from Winchester Brian was her sole companion. When in 1142 Matilda made her historic escape from Oxford, crossing the frozen river disguised in white, it was in Brian's fortress of Wallingford that she took refuge. When Henry II finally came to the throne, he granted a charter to Wallingford in recognition of the faithful services rendered to his cause by Brian.¹ Brian had married, apparently at an early date, Matilda, heiress of Wallingford, through whom he became lord of extensive estates, to which he added by purchase and otherwise, so that in 1130 he held land in twelve counties. Henry seems to have extended the Wallingford estate by gifts to his favorite, as in the Northamptonshire survey for Henry I, II, we find the record of a gift of land *de feodo de Walinford* to Brian, *filius comitis*.

Brian must, as Mr. Round remarks, have received an exceptionally good education for the time; we know, on the evidence of Gilbert Foliot, that he composed an eloquent treatise on the rights of the Empress, and his correspondence with the Bishop of Winchester is still extant.

There can be no doubt that, in the first half of the twelfth century, Brian was an outstanding figure in English history; it seems most probable that the title *de Insula*, or *de l'Isle*, by which he is sometimes known, was derived from the fact that, though of continental parentage, his life was spent on insular ground.

But why should the author of the *Perlesvaus* have represented him in such an unfavorable light? I suspect that the answer is to be

¹ Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Fitz Count, Brian," by J. H. Round.

found in Brian's connection with Wales. From an early date he was lord of the manor of Abergavenny; he is named among the magnates of Llandaff in 1119.¹ How he became possessed of the property is not clear.

The *Chronicle of Abergavenny* states that "Hamelin, son of Dru de Baledin, who came over with the Conqueror, having no issue, left Abergavenny to his nephew, Brian de Insula, son of his sister Lucia." Mr. Round discredits this statement, pointing out that Hamelin certainly had sons of his own.²

But Mr. Round himself fails to give a satisfactory account of Brian's possession of the property, as he states in one place (*Dictionary of National Biography*) that it was part of the dowry of Matilda of Wallingford, and in another (*Peerage Studies*) that it was a gift from Henry I. But why Hamelin's sons should have been thus disinherited he never explains.

Nor have we any other mention of Brian's mother. She may really have belonged to the Ballon family, who derived their name from their original home near Le Mans, and the *Chronicle* may have preserved the record of a private family arrangement by which the illegitimate son of the daughter of the house, who bade fair to make a name for himself, received a share of the common inheritance; or the chronicler may simply have been desirous of completing his story by the introduction of imaginary details.

What is certain is that Brian was one of the governors imposed upon the Welsh by their Norman conquerors, and who were cordially detested by them. We have a notable instance of this in the murder of Brian's friend, Richard de Clare, which is narrated by Giraldus, and the memory of which still survives. Richard de Clare, lord of Cardiganshire, who had been visiting Brian, was escorted by him and a body of armed men on his homeward journey. At the passage of Coed Grono (in the Vale of Gronwy), and at the entrance to a wood called today Coed Dial (the Wood of Revenge), he insisted, in spite of Brian's remonstrances, on dismissing his escort, and proceeding un-

¹ Cf. *Book of Llandav*, p. 93.

² Cf. Round, *Peerage Studies*, "The Family of Ballon." This statement will be found in a note to the *Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis*, "Everyman's Library," p. 46, where it attracted my attention. It is there attributed to Hollinshead, II, 95. Round (*supra*) quotes the same passage from Dugdale, and shows that the source is the *Abergavenny Chronicle*.

armed. He was waylaid by the Welsh, under Morgan ap Owen, who had a grudge against him, and killed.¹

That the author of the *Perlesvaus*, if not himself Welsh, was at least familiar with that country, seems clear from the numerous allusions found throughout the romance. The hermit of the chapel of St. Austin, whom Guenevere bids Arthur consult, is the most holy hermit in the kingdom of Wales. The home of Perceval's mother, Kamalot, is on a headland in Wales, looking toward the west, and from its position, is not to be confounded with the Kamalot where Arthur held his court. The author knows a castle which is called "the Key of Wales," and measures his distances in Welsh leagues. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that he may have been a monk of Glastonbury of Welsh birth. To such a one Brian de Insula, as the Welsh chronicler calls him, would be a traditional foe, who, being dead, might be pilloried in safety.

When and where Brian died is unknown. According to the *Abergavenny Chronicle*, he had two sons, lepers, went to the Holy Land, and died there. Round, who, here as elsewhere, disputes the reliability of the *Chronicle*, offers no alternative suggestion; in fact, he contradicts himself, as in the *Dictionary of National Biography* he says Brian "disappears from sight after 1142," but in the *Peerage Studies* asserts that he was besieged in Wallingford by Stephen 1152-53, and relieved by Henry. The fact that after his accession to the throne in 1154 Henry granted a charter to Wallingford, in recognition of Brian's services, would seem to indicate that he was still alive. He had certainly disposed of Abergavenny before that date, yielding it, as a gift, to Miles of Gloucester.

Though Round rejects the testimony of the *Abergavenny Chronicle*, it seems more probable that Brian, like many another of his class and age, should in his latter days have made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and died there, than that he should have died in England, where, in the case of one who had played so prominent a rôle for so many years, the date of his death and place of his burial would certainly have been recorded. It is, however, beyond the shadow of a doubt that the period of his activities lies well within the first half of the twelfth century, and that any romance in which he plays a part would certainly

¹ Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 45.

have been composed while his dominant and turbulent personality was still a living memory.

What, then, are the grounds upon which we may postulate an identity of the Brian des Isles of the *Perlesvaus* with the Brian de In-sula? We have first the identity of name, which, in itself, would be sufficiently striking; then the fact that both were connected alike with Great and Little Britain; the previously quoted words of the romance, when Kay flies to Little Britain to Brian's protection, "Brian of the Isles was of great power in these times, a knight of great strength and hardiment, for all Great Britain had had many disputes between him and king Arthur," might, with the substitution of Stephen for Arthur, have been equally well written of the historic Brian. His whole rôle throughout the story fits in well with that of Brian Fitz Count; he is always engaged in stirring up civil war throughout the land—so close a parallel, alike in name and action, can hardly be accidental.

And if this parallel be accepted as reposing on genuine grounds, we have gained two important points. (a) For the first time we can point to an unmistakably historic character figuring in Arthurian romance. Students of medieval literature are well aware that one of the most striking differences between the Arthurian and Charlemagne romances is the presence of genuine historical personages in the latter. M. Bédier, in his great work on *Les Légendes Épiques*, gives a list of no fewer than fifty such names; hitherto they have been completely lacking in the Arthurian cycle. (b) We have now a solid piece of evidence in favor of the priority of the *Perlesvaus* over the cyclic romances. These latter took their present form and shape in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. If M. Lot in his study of the *Lancelot* in prose be correct, they somewhat overlapped that date; he places the *terminus ad quem* of that romance in 1227. The *Perlesvaus*, if of later date, can hardly be older than the mystic 1230, so often suggested by scholars as the date of a romance which they find inconvenient to place earlier.¹

But at that date Brian would have been dead for the best part of a century, the memory of his baneful activities would have had time to fade; his name might indeed have survived, but that it should have

¹ This date has been assigned at various times to the romance under discussion, to the Didot *Perceval*, and to the *Bliocadran* Prologue. In my opinion all these romances fall within the closing years of the twelfth century. See Nitzze, *Mod. Phil.* XVII, 151 ff.

been associated, as here, with a personality and with actions so remarkably reminiscent of the original Brian, seems to me, to say the least, extremely improbable. Incidentally, too, this identification throws an interesting light upon the possible origin of our romance, as not merely insular, but specifically Welsh in provenance. I would submit that the identification of Brian des Illes is of the first importance for the criticism of Arthurian romance.¹

Since writing the above I have come across what may be a possible reference to Brian in the name of Ysperni, son of Fflergant, king of Armorica, which occurs in the list of Arthur's warriors, given in *Kwllwch and Olwen* (*Mabinogion*, Nutt's ed., p. 109). Dr. Mary Williams has also drawn my attention to the Triad of *The Three Faithless Families of Britain* (Loth., *Mabinogion*, II, 264). The third is "La famille d'Alan Fergant; qui abandonna son seigneur en cachette dans sa marche vers Kamlan." Brian and his kin were obviously unpopular in Wales.

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¹ A reference to Brian as "Brian de l'Isle" will be found in Coxe's *Historical Tour of Monmouthshire*, I, 174.

THE DATE OF THE *VITA MERLINI*

The *Vita Merlini*, a poem generally credited to Geoffrey of Monmouth, contains, near the end, a passage in which Merlin's sister Ganiada becomes inspired with the gift of prophecy and utters a series of predictions which, in spite of the highly figurative language in which they are veiled, are evidently references to events that were still recent at the time the poem was written. Ward's¹ explanation of the first three of these as being references to events leading up to the rout of Winchester in 1141 is convincing, and is now generally accepted. The fourth reference he does not attempt to identify further than to say that it refers to an expedition of two leaders against the Welsh, while a more specific localization will have to wait until someone can "identify the particular hill of Urien where the Deiri and Gewissi met in the reign of the Great Coel (or Howell)." This fourth passage can, I believe, be identified with as much certainty as the others.

The passage in question, which reads:

Sidera bina feris uideo committere pugnam
Colle sub urgenio quo conuenire deyri
Gewissique simul magno regnante cohelo
O quanta sudore uiri tellusque cruore
Manat in externas dum dantur uulnera gente
Concidit in latebras collisum sydere sidus
Absconditque suum renouato lumine lumen,²

seems to have been inspired by a confused recollection of Taliesin's poem, "The Battle of Argoed Llwyfein," which is translated by Professor John Morris Jones:³

In the morning of Saturday there was a great battle
From when the sun rose till when it set

¹ *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 281 ff. The attempt of San Marte (*Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle [1853], pp. 335-38) to make the whole passage refer to events of the years 1213-17 is not at all convincing.

² This text is based upon rotographs of folio 138 of MS Cotton Vespasian E iv in the British Museum, the only manuscript known that contains this passage.

³ *Y Cymmrodor*, XXVIII (1918), 156. See this same article for a discussion of the question of the date and authorship of this poem.

Fflamddwyn marched in four hosts
 To wage war against Goddeu and Rheged.
 He came from Argoed to Arfynydd:
 They were not suffered to remain for that one day.
 Fflamddwyn of great bluster exclaimed,
 "Would they give hostages, are they ready?"
 Him answered Owein, eager for the fray,
 "They would not give [hostages], they are not ready;
 And Ceneu, son of Coel, would have suffered torture
 Stoutly, ere he would cede anyone as hostage."
 Uryen, Lord of Yrechwydd, exclaimed,
 "If it must be an encounter for kith and kin,
 Let us raise [our] lines above the mountain,
 And let us hold up [our] faces above the edge,
 And let us raise [our] spears above [his] men's heads,
 And let us attack Fflamddwyn in his hosts,
 And let us kill both him and his company."
 And before Llwyfein Wood
 There was many a corpse;
 Ravens were red with the blood of men.
 And the men who charged—the minstrel shall sing
 For many [?] a year the song of their victory.

This sixth-century battle must certainly have been fought somewhere in the North,¹ and the contending forces must have been on the one side the Britons of Goddeu and Rheged under Owein and his son Uryen, and on the other the Angles of Bernicia and possibly of Deira also under Theodoric the "Flame Bearer,"² son of Ida. This is not, it is true, a battle between the Gewissi and Deiri, but we certainly have a Hill of Uryen, and a mention of Uryen's great ancestor, Coel Godebrog, not improperly called the "Great Coel," who might seem to one who understood the poem only imperfectly to have been present at the time, or at least living then. As time went on and the Britons lost their kingdom in the North, they forgot about this Coed Llwyfein (or Llwyfein Wood) and came to associate this battle with another Coed Llwyfein in the territory still held by them. Mr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans has shown³ that there was a Coed Llwyfein in Flintshire, and that the district about it was called Argoed Llwyfein. If Geoffrey

¹ Skene's map in the *Four Ancient Books* locates it north of the Clyde, and J. M. Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 71) in Yorkshire.

² The title "Flame Bearer" is sometimes applied to Ida also.

³ *The Text of the Book of Taliesin*, Llanbedrog, 1910 [i.e., 1915], p. xxi.

thought that the battle was fought here, as his contemporary Cyn-ddelw apparently did,¹ he might naturally assume that the opponents of the Angles were some tribe in Wales; he had already located the Gewissi here, and probably thought that this name would serve his purpose as well as any other. Accuracy was not to Geoffrey a cardinal virtue.

In this Flintshire Argoed Llwyfein there was fought in Geoffrey's time a battle that fits well his description. In 1150 Madoc ap Maredudd, King of Powys, and Randulf, Earl of Chester, with their forces, were opposed at Consyllt (Coleshill) by Owein Gwynedd, who, after slaying many, put the others to flight.² This battle fills all the conditions of Geoffrey's account³ except for the quarrel of the two leaders after it; one might expect such a disagreement to take place, but I know of no definite evidence that it did.

The acceptance of this identification involves a certain amount of redating of the poem. The date 1148, which is usually given, rests upon conjecture only (it cannot be *earlier* than 1148), and I see no difficulty in bringing it down two years later. At this time Geoffrey was still at Oxford, apparently waiting for some church appointment, and it may even be that he had his mind already set on the bishopric of St. Asaph, for in the next year we find him signing himself, "Gaufridus electus sancti Asaphi."⁴ In that case he would have had a very definite reason for being interested in this battle, since it was Owein's victory in this campaign that made it impossible for Geoffrey to visit the see before his death.⁵

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¹ In his elegy on Owein Gwynedd (Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 169) he compares his hero to Owein ab Uryen in the earlier battle of Argoed Llwyfein, but apparently he is drawing a comparison with the later battle of the same name, Owein's conduct in which he praises in another poem (*ibid.*, p. 170).

² J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, London (1912), p. 494; Paul Barbier, *The Age of Owain Gwynedd*, London (1908), p. 49. Both of these leaders had been concerned in the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, mentioned in an earlier section of Galledda's prophecy.

³ Another and more famous battle was fought in this same place in 1157, when Owein Gwynedd defeated Henry II. Aside from the fact that this was after Geoffrey's death, this battle does not fit the facts so well, since King Henry was assisted by four Welsh princes, no one of whom was of sufficient dignity to be set apart from the others and associated with the King to make the two leaders.

⁴ H. E. Salter, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford," *English Historical Review*, XXXIV (1919), 384.

⁵ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

"THIS FIGURE THAT THOU HERE SEEST PUT"

Examples of literary growth by accretion are easily found. I wish to call attention to one only, Ben Jonson's famous verses on the portrait of Shakespeare published in the first folio of Shakespeare's works. Jonson had a kind of antipathy, as is well known, to writing anything new or original; he preferred to borrow, giving the impression that he was taking from the Greek or Latin classics, from which anyone may quarry whatever he may need. It is becoming more and more evident, however, that Ben's borrowings were not so often from the classics as he would have us believe, but often from writers much nearer his own day; he liked especially to plunder from the authors of the Low Countries, through whom he often acquired his classical material at second hand. His own mind had much more affinity for the Dutch Renaissance than for the genuine classic spirit. His reluctance to attribute his borrowings to sixteenth-century writers from such a prosaic locality was shared by his contemporaries; Jonson's friend Selden expresses the feeling well in his *Table Talk*:

In quoting of books, quote such authors as are usually read; others you may read for your own satisfaction, but not name them. . . . To quote a modern Dutchman where I may use a classic author is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

It should be added that the modern Dutchman from whom Jonson and other English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tacitly plundered most was Erasmus of Rotterdam.

One might suspect, then, that Jonson's verses on Shakespeare's portrait had some suggestion in sixteenth-century work. I do not know that their origin has heretofore been pointed out, but the growth of the poem may be very clearly traced.

In 1517 Quentin Metsys painted a portrait of Erasmus, representing him writing among his books in his study. The pose and many of the details of this portrait, which Erasmus sent to Sir Thomas More, were afterward copied in the more famous portraits of Erasmus by Dürer

and Holbein; the painter's art, too, grows by accretion. Some two years later, in 1519, Metsys cast a medallion portrait of Erasmus. In sending this medallion to Albert of Brandenburg, Erasmus remarks in a letter (1520): "*Potiores imaginem mei, si quid tamen mei probum est, habes in libris expressam.*" This is a thought often expressed in the letters of Erasmus.¹ It is to be found in Greek on the medallion itself, where it gives the first suggestion for Jonson's poem; perhaps one might say it is the grain of sand around which the pearl is to be built up: THN KPEITTΩ TA ΞΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΔΕΙΞΕΙ: IMAGO AD VIVĀ EFFIGIĒ EXPRESSA.

Obviously the Greek inscription is more appropriate to the painting of 1517, in which Erasmus is represented with his books, than to the medallion, in which only the bust of Erasmus is shown, without the books.

Dürer, in 1526, made an engraving of Erasmus, in which he borrowed the inscription on the medallion, varying it slightly, together with Metsys' whole conception of the scholar at his desk, writing among his books. The inscription on this engraving is of especial importance:

IMAGO ERASMI ROTERODA
MI AB ALBERTO DVRERO AD
VIVAM EFFIGIEM DELINIATA
THN KPEITTΩ TA ΞΥΓΓΡΑΜ
ΜΑΤΑ ΔΕΙΞΕΙ
MDXXVI

This may be translated: "The likeness of Erasmus of Rotterdam drawn according to the living figure by Albert Dürer. His writings will show it better."

Hans Holbein made many portraits of Erasmus; perhaps the painting now in the Louvre is the best known of these, in which he adopts the same conception of the writing scholar at his desk that Metsys had used. Holbein's portraits of his friend were apparently better liked, and certainly more often reproduced with his works, than either Metsys' or Dürer's. On the same page with one of Holbein's portraits on the verso of the title-page of the *Adagia* published in 1533, one of Erasmus' secretaries, Gilbertus Cognatus, wrote (the volume is now

¹ See Allen, *Erasmii Epistolae*, p. 1101 and note.

in the Boston Public Library) verses on the portrait, in Latin, evidently merely a poetic expansion of the inscription on Dürer's engraving of 1526, and just as evidently the lines that Jonson paraphrased in English, after his usual custom, for the portrait of his friend Shakespeare to be published on the title-page of the first collected edition of his works in 1623. The lines of Cognatus were often printed; I quote them from the Leyden edition of Erasmus, 1703-6:

Corporis effigiem si quis non vidit Erasmi,
 Hanc scite ad vivum picta tabella dabit.
 Si pariter vocem manus ingeniosa dedisset,
 Vidisses simul et pectoris effigiem.
 Sed quod docta manus præstare nequibat, Erasmus
 Plenius ac melius præstitit ipse sibi.
 Ecce quot in libris tibi mentis imago relucet
 Vivaque nec fallax, clarius ac speculo.
 Atque hæc forma viri spectatu dignior, illa
 Quam finxit pictor, theca modo est animi.
 Ergo puta toties te pictum cernere Erasmus
 Illius ingenii quot monumenta legis.

It may be worth while to give with this the poem of Jonson, well known though it is:

This Figure, that thou here seest put,
 It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
 Wherein the graver had a strife
 With Nature, to out-do the life:
 O, could he but have drawn his wit
 As well in brasse as he hath hit
 His face; the Print would then surpass
 All, that was ever writ in brasse.
 But, since he cannot, Reader, look
 Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

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FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER

NOVEMBER 29, 1861—JANUARY 28, 1925

When a man has done his work quietly and without ostentation, even those who knew him best are often only imperfectly aware of the good he has accomplished and the causes he has aided. This was pre-eminently true of Frederic Ives Carpenter, who was taken from us on January 28 at the very height of his powers.

He was born at Monroe, Wisconsin, November 29, 1861. His parents were William O. and Lucetta Spencer Carpenter. On December 12, 1888, he married Emma Cook, of Chicago, who survives him with a son, Frederic I. Carpenter, Jr.

He was prepared for college at the Chicago High School, with some special aid in Latin and Greek from a young scholar, Paul Shorey, whose name is now a guaranty both of linguistic accuracy and of sympathetic interpretation of literature. At Harvard College, from which he was graduated in the class of 1885, Carpenter was distinguished, says one of his classmates, by the breadth of his interest in subjects outside the curriculum—literature, music, art, and what are commonly called college activities. Typical of his undergraduate activities is the fact that he was managing editor of the *Harvard Herald* and later of the *Herald-Crimson*. Although he consciously and purposely took the strictly academic work of the college rather lightly, he stood near the head of his class throughout his Harvard career.

After graduation Carpenter entered into his father's business, a large lumber company operating mainly in northern Michigan. But his interest in research and the study of literature became more and more clearly dominant, and finally his father yielded to the persistence of his desires and consented to his abandonment of business for scholarship.

In the autumn of 1892, when the first classes of the newly organized University of Chicago assembled, Carpenter registered as a

graduate student in English and was elected to an honorary fellowship. The other fellows of the Department of English were Edwin H. Lewis and Myra Reynolds, both of whom have since achieved distinction as scholars and teachers. In those earliest years of the University, although a considerable number of advanced courses were offered in the Graduate School, special training in research was only meagerly provided. Therefore, at the suggestion of President Harper, the fellows in English organized an informal research club, meeting every week for mutual criticism and aid. Fortunately for the club as well as for Mr. Carpenter, his wife sympathized with his aims and made for him a home of rare and hospitable charm. The research club met regularly with the Carpenters, and dinner was the first item in the order of business. Of those meetings the surviving members still speak with enthusiasm; and they will not readily admit that any other group of students ever equaled this in zest for work, in eagerness and frankness of discussion, in keenness and sincerity of criticism, in all those joyous activities which make scholarship its own abundant reward. Who will dare to question their belief? What counts for most in graduate work is not the courses given by the instructors, but the free, wide-ranging discussions of the students themselves, and the habits of constructive and critical thinking developed in the course of their training.

Immediately after obtaining his doctorate, Carpenter began his career as a teacher in the University of Chicago with the grade of docent, and continued to teach in this institution until his retirement in 1911 with the rank of professor. My first meeting with him occurred in March, 1898, when at the invitation of President Harper I visited the University for the purpose of considering a call to the headship of the Department of English. There were many attractive possibilities connected with the new institution, but my confidence in the outlook for research and research training in English and my decision to come to the University rested largely upon the fact that I should have Carpenter as a co-worker. His learning, particularly in the field of bibliography, was already very great, and his mind was filled with projects and subjects for research. Some of the plans which we discussed in those years of hope and enthusiasm have since been realized, but some of the larger ones still remain as unfulfilled or only

partly fulfilled dreams. One of them seems particularly worth mentioning in illustration of Carpenter's interests and his later career.

Both of us were much impressed by the deplorable state of scientific bibliography in the fields of English and the other modern languages at that time, and the difficulty of ascertaining not merely the first and best editions of literary works, but the evidence for many of the most important events of literary history. In English, for example, with the exception of two or three rather limited fields, there were no reference books to which the scholar might turn with the assurance of learning where to find authoritative and accurate information concerning the lives and writings even of the greatest and best-known authors. Carpenter and I therefore planned to produce with the aid of our graduate students an encyclopedic volume which would do for English literature what had been so well done for Latin in the Teuffel-Schwabe *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur*. Although various beginnings were made on this work, the pressure of other duties and interests prevented us from carrying it out, but I think it is no exaggeration to say that Carpenter's conception of this plan is responsible in no small measure for the greatly improved conditions in the scientific bibliography of English which confront us today. For one thing, it was directly from him that there proceeded the impulse to the "Survey of the Present Status of the Bibliography of the Modern Languages and Literatures" undertaken and carried out by the Bibliographical Society of America, a survey which perhaps first awakened general interest in the subject.

Another contribution to scholarship in America for which much credit belongs to Carpenter was the establishment of *Modern Philology*. The initiative in this matter came, of course, from Philip S. Allen, but it can be said with assurance that he would not have undertaken the task without the co-operation of Carpenter as a member of the editorial board. The aid which he rendered to Allen was constant and invaluable. The clarity and sanity of his judgment, the openness of his mind to new ideas, the severity of his standards of work, and his prompt and fearless rejection of work which fell below those standards even though sponsored by the most influential name, contributed largely to establishing the reputation of *Modern Philology* at home and abroad. At this period in his life Carpenter was not a wealthy man, but even then he gave to *Modern Philology* financial as

well as scholarly aid. More than once when the enthusiasm of the editorial board had outrun the University appropriation, he made good the deficit, sometimes amounting to hundreds of dollars, and in recent years his generous contributions have several times made possible the publication of articles involving greater expenses than the journal was able to bear.

In teaching, Carpenter's great work was the training of graduate students in bibliography and the methods of research. During the whole of his University career, every graduate student in English felt the stimulus of his example and the guidance of his wisdom. The thanks expressed to him in a long series of doctoral dissertations were not perfunctory but sincere expressions of an indebtedness not easy to estimate.

Of even more lasting benefit to the University, perhaps, was his long service as library adviser. The purchase of books for the English Library was, during the whole of his connection with the University, largely in his hands. To his unwearied diligence in reading sales catalogues and his extensive and accurate knowledge of the values of books are to be attributed both the range and fulness of the collections and the remarkable number of important volumes picked up at unusually low prices. And he established a tradition which has been well maintained by his successors in the office of library adviser.

Upon the death of his father, there devolved upon Mr. Carpenter as one of the executors of the will the management of a large estate. For two or three years it seemed possible that he might carry on the necessary business and at the same time continue his connection with the University, but it became increasingly evident that this was impossible. President Judson, on behalf of the University, proposed that he should retain his professorship, teaching only two quarters, or one, or even in case of need canceling announcements of courses that had already been made, and for a time this plan was pursued. But in 1911 the increasing demands of the business decided Carpenter to withdraw entirely from his University connection. I hoped and urged that he should at least retain a nominal connection as occasional adviser in the purchase of books, but he did not think even this was wise.

For some time Carpenter's interest in scholarship seemed almost entirely superseded by his close attention to the business of the estate.

But he was not able to divorce himself entirely from his passion for books, and in February, 1913, accepted appointment as a trustee of the Newberry Library, and soon thereafter became a member of the Book Committee. He served in both these capacities until his death. This library work became for many years his most engrossing avocation. In 1913, the first year of his trusteeship, he presented to the Newberry Library a collection of seventeenth-century works in English illustrative of prose fiction before 1700. There were seventy-seven titles in the original gift, and others were added later. The collection has been kept together and stands on the shelves as the "Frederic Ives Carpenter Collection of Early English Prose Fiction." As all the titles of the collection are of importance to the student of the subject it is difficult to select one as of more value than another, but the following few may be mentioned as perhaps worthy of special note:

Audiguier, Vital d'. *A Tragi-Comical History of our Times*. 1627.

Bergerac, Cyrano de. *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and Sun*. Englished by A. Lovell. 1687.

Brathwait, Richard. *Panthalia: or the Royal Romance*. 1659.

Bremond, Gabriel. *The Pilgrim*. Translated into English by P. Belon. 1684.

Charles, Duke of Mantua. *The Loves of Charles, Duke of Mantua, and of Margaret, Countess of Rovera*. Translated out of the Italian. 1669.

Hawkins, Sir Thomas. *Unhappy Prosperitie*. Written in French by P. Mathiew. 1632.

Munday, Anthony. *The Famous and Renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece*. 1619.

Munday, Anthony. *The Famous History of the Noble and Valiant Prince Palmerin of England*. 1664.

Sadler, John, Olbia. *The New Iland lately discovered*. 1660.

Subligny, A. T. P. de. *The Mock-Clelia: being a Comic History of French Gallantries, and Novels, in imitation of Don Quixote*. 1678. A parody on Mlle de Scudéry's *Clelia*.

Theophania. [Anon.] 1655. One of five copies known.

Among his other gifts to the library which stand out with special prominence are the following:

Alabaster, William. *Elisaeis*. 1591? In manuscript. 'Phillips Ms. 9027.'

A Latin poem in praise of Queen Elizabeth.

H., R. (probably Richard Harvey). A manuscript poem in praise of Edmund Spenser, written in a hand contemporary with the poet.

Spenser, Edmund. *Faerie Queene: The Shepheards Calendar: together with the other works*. . . . 1617.

De Rebus Gestis Britanniae, by E. S. (Edmund Spenser?). London: Henry Binneman, ca. 1582.

Ficino, Marcilio. *Iamblichus de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*. Venice: Aldus, 1497.

During the period of his trusteeship he presented to the Newberry Library 466 volumes, 198 pamphlets, 2 manuscripts, and several photostatic reproductions of rare manuscripts relating to Edmund Spenser. Many of his gifts were either editions of Spenser or works relating more or less directly to that poet. These gifts and the time and enthusiastic labor which he spent in book selection have been of incalculable help in making the Library's Spenser collection one of the best in the country.

As the affairs of the estate became better co-ordinated and required less of Carpenter's attention, his mind turned more and more to the field of scholarship, and it seems certain that had he lived he would once more have devoted himself largely, if not wholly, to his ancient interests. One of the first questions asked me by President Burton upon his election to the presidency of the University of Chicago was whether we could induce Mr. Carpenter to return to the University as Professor of English, and he authorized me to offer him such an appointment upon his own terms. Carpenter expressed himself as much inclined to accept the offer, and Mrs. Carpenter strongly urged that he should do so, but up to the time of his death, he had not quite made up his mind to subject himself again to the definite and constant restrictions inseparable from an academic career. His continued interest in the University was manifested, however, by a bequest in his will providing a considerable sum for the purchase of books for the Department of English.

Two notable contributions to scholarship in America show the trend of his mind in recent years. When President Aydelotte organized for the Modern Language Association of America his Committee on the Reproduction of Books and Manuscripts, Carpenter accepted the position of secretary of the committee, and by his unflagging zeal and industry as well as his wide bibliographical knowledge, won for that committee the outstanding success which its work has achieved. It was characteristic of him that as soon as he knew the fatal verdict of his physicians, which gave him hope for only a few months more of

life, he took careful measures for the uninterrupted continuation of the work of the committee. He not only notified President Aydelotte of his condition and asked for the appointment of a successor, but sent for a friend and asked him to carry on the work of the committee until his successor was appointed. He was himself at that time unable to write, and there was some correspondence necessary for the completion of plans that had already been undertaken. It would be difficult to name any other project which has resulted and will result in greater services to American scholarship than the work of this committee. It has made available in a central depository at the Congressional Library for all American scholars a carefully chosen collection of photostatic reproductions of rare books and manuscripts which could hardly be accessible to American workers in any other way, and it is already clear that the fine traditions established by Carpenter will be maintained by his successor in the secretaryship.

Another recent service of outstanding value to scholarship was his *Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, published in 1923. In the early years of his teaching at the University of Chicago, Carpenter published for the use of his students several bibliographical guides to the study of important authors and subjects in English literature. These were small pamphlets, but they were in every case superior to any other accessible bibliographies. In the autumn of 1920, he lent me his own annotated copy of his *Guide to Spenser* for use in a Spenser course which I was giving for the first time. Although his interest in Spenser had never flagged, as is evident from his gifts to the Newberry Library, this demand for the small pamphlet which had long been out of print suggested to him the desirability of revising the pamphlet and bringing it up to date. With characteristic energy, he devoted himself to this task, and not only secured the services of Mr. H. R. Plomer for special researches in the archives of England and Ireland, but himself visited London for this purpose. The result was a volume of more than three hundred pages, not perfect, to be sure, but in all probability the completest and most accurate bibliography we have for the study of any great English writer.

No account of Carpenter's life and work would be complete without some notice of his extra-academical activities. It is impossible to recount these in detail, but two that are thoroughly characteristic of him may be mentioned.

In the autumn of 1906, he joined a number of other public-spirited citizens in the organization and establishment in Chicago of the New Theater, subsidized for the production of plays of merit that for one reason or another lacked the qualities for commercial success. Mr. Arthur T. Aldis, one of his associates, has kindly given me the following account of this interesting but ill-fated enterprise:

It was organized and begun in the autumn of 1906 and ran into the early spring of 1907. Professor Carpenter was on the Board of Trustees and a guarantor and was much interested and discussed plays with us. This New Theater was, I think, the first subsidized repertory theater in this country, except the one of similar name in New York which started in the same year on a very grand scale. We had a total guarantee of \$25,000.00 and employed Victor Mapes as Director and later changed to Mrs. James Herne, her daughter, Crystal Herne, being in the Company. We opened with Gilbert's *Engaged*, gave as the second play, *The Great Galeoto*, by Echegaray (first production in English), and then jumped to *The Spoilers*, by Rex Beach, a melodrama then unproduced. Later, several French and German plays, some semi-classics and some quite modern like *Elga* and *The Masquerade*. We also revived *Margaret Fleming*, by James A. Herne, and produced some original plays. Lack of public interest and exhaustion of money cut our season short after about twelve weeks. The public was quite indifferent, whether the work happened to be good or happened to be bad. It was sometimes one and sometimes the other. Professor Carpenter seemed much interested, and not only gave valuable advice, but extended more than one man's proportion of financial aid and sympathy.

I well remember Carpenter's interest in this undertaking, his hope—characteristically not overconfident—that it might serve as a means of presenting promising experimental work and aid in raising the tone and quality of play-writing in America, and his disappointment at the brief and apparently fruitless life of the enterprise.

More successful were his efforts in behalf of the Red Cross during the world-war. He was living at that time in Santa Barbara, California, and responded with characteristic energy to the call for service. He was made chairman of the local chapter and devoted his time and his talent for organization to the development of the work. The fine record of the chapter testifies to both his devotion and his ability.

The list of Carpenter's publications is not a long one, but his effective professional career was scarcely more than ten years, and

during the whole of that time he was devoting to students and to various kinds of administrative work an amount of time and energy that left little surplus for his own writing. Only those who knew him intimately can estimate the breadth and accuracy of his scholarship and the generosity with which he answered every demand made upon him. But even his slightest publications bear the mark not only of complete erudition, but of sane and clear thinking and a piercing sense of significances.

Modesty concerning his own work was, I think, an innate characteristic. Innate, no doubt, were also that sense of realities and that clear apprehension of human weaknesses which tempered his attitude toward new projects. Some of his more optimistic friends often felt that he lacked enthusiasm. But though he was often skeptical, he was no pessimist; he was as ready to undertake and as steady in prosecuting desirable enterprises as the most optimistic. Phlegmatic by experience and habit, he was fundamentally, perhaps, of a nervous temperament, and this may explain his cautious but ready hospitality to new ideas and new methods.

The loss of Frederic Carpenter we shall feel increasingly. He was a ripe scholar, a notable citizen, a devoted husband and father, a loyal friend. His most outstanding qualities were sincerity, courage, humor, and sanity of judgment. And he faced death with the same courageous recognition of fact with which he had faced life. For months he was helpless and knew he was doomed, but he discussed the future as simply and quietly as if his journey were but to a neighboring city.

Ave atque vale!

JOHN M. MANLY

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The death of Henry Alfred Todd, professor of Romance languages in Columbia University, occurred at New York, January 3, 1925. Born at Woodstock, Illinois, in 1854, Todd graduated at Princeton in 1876, and was then attracted to Johns Hopkins University by A. Marshall Elliott (Ph.D. 1885). He remained as instructor at Johns Hopkins until 1891, was a member of the faculty of Leland Stanford, Jr., University for two years, and was then called to a professorship at Columbia University. For fifteen years Todd was an associate editor of *Modern Language Notes*, publishing there a series of studies and reviews which give evidence of a wide range of interests and of competence not only in Old French, which was his special field, but also in Spanish, Provençal, and Italian. He was one of the founders of the *Romanic Review* (1910) and remained on the editorial staff until his death.

Aside from his teaching and editorial activities, which have been both unremitting and fruitful, Todd will no doubt be remembered longest in the United States for his having been the first American to enter the field of Old French literature. Even before achieving the doctorate, he had the opportunity, largely through the friendly interest of Gaston Paris, to edit the thirteenth-century *Dit de la Panthere* of Nicole de Margival for the Société des anciens Textes français, 1883. Three years later appeared his study of the much longer romance, *Guillaume de Dole* (the text published in 1893 by G. Servois), and, in 1889, the full text, with notes and glossary, of *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*. Two later texts, *La Vie sainte-Catherine d'Alexandrie* and a versified *Apocalypse*, are of minor interest.—T. A. J.

Italy has recently lost three scholars of note. Eugenio Donadoni (1872–1924), who held the chair of Italian literature at the University of Pisa, will be remembered for his critical books on Foscolo and on Fogazzaro, and especially for his two substantial volumes on Tasso.

Adolfo Albertazzi (1865–1925), both a novelist and a student of the novel, leaves us several important books, among which should be mentioned *Romanzieri e romanzi del Cinquecento e dei Seicento* (1891), and *Il Romanzo* (1904); the latter is our only comprehensive study of the Italian novel from Boccaccio to the present.

Guido Biagi (1855–1925), until lately librarian of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, inaugurated his career with a critical edition of the *Novellino* (1880). There may be mentioned also his *Vita di Giuseppe Giusti* (1886), a revised edition of the Colomb de Batine's Dante bibliography, *Codice diplomatico dantesco*, *La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare*

commento, and *Lo Zibaldone Boccaccesco*. Biagi was also the founder of the *Rivista delle biblioteche*.—R. A.

We have to record the death at Boston, Massachusetts, January 27, 1925, of Carlos Everett Conant, Fellow in Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Chicago, 1910–11; Ph.D., 1911. Born in Vermont in 1870, he was a graduate of Lawrence College, Wisconsin. He taught ancient and modern languages in several universities and colleges, but a visit to the Philippine Islands definitely turned him to the field of Indonesian philology, where his work brought him recognition and high standing. His publications in Philippine linguistics include articles and monographs on the names of the Philippine languages, on the so-called Pepet Law, on *F* and *V* in Philippine languages, on Indonesian *L*, on the *RGH* Law, on monosyllabic roots in Pampanga, and on other related subjects. Some of his work was published by the Bureau of Science, Manila; he also contributed to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, to *Anthropos*, and to various journals of ethnology.—C. D. B.

The collection recently acquired and presented to the University of Chicago by Mr. Martin A. Ryerson is now undergoing a preliminary examination by members of the English staff. It is composed of two bodies of documents, all relating to the famous Bacon family. The history of the accumulation of these documents begins in the sixteenth century, when Sir Nicholas Bacon, afterward Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, acquired the large estate which surrounded the hunting lodge of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, which had been in the possession of the monastery since before the Conquest. With this estate the Lord Keeper received the deeds, charters, manor rolls, and other documents connected with the property. Great additions were later made to the collection when he purchased other manors in the neighborhood. His eldest son, Nicholas, half-brother of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, acquired by marriage further landed property with the documents relating thereto; and his successors increased the collection until the end of the seventeenth century, when the properties passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Holt, father of Lord Chief Justice Holt. The collection thus possesses a double interest in its wealth of pre-Reformation documents from the thirteenth century onward and in its connection with the Bacon family during the years of their principal eminence. In extent and continuity the collection would be difficult to match in any of the libraries of England. Even the slight inspection given to the manuscripts since their arrival indicates that their value is even greater than had been believed. While it would be too much to expect the collection to throw any new light upon important historical events, it will surely illustrate with great fulness of detail the social, economic, and industrial conditions of England for nearly five centuries. Incidentally the light which will be thrown upon the history of the English language is of no small moment.—J. M. M.

Interest in Horace Walpole, always notably keen, seems likely to receive a new impetus from a number of recent or forthcoming publications. In France, M. Paul Yvon has just published two important volumes on his career and writings—one an elaborate *essai de biographie psychologique et littéraire* of nearly nine hundred pages, entitled *La vie d'un dilettante, Horace Walpole, 1717-1797* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1924), the other a briefer monograph on *Horace Walpole as a Poet* (same publisher and date). In England, Mr. Paget Toynbee is engaged in editing a whole new series of Walpole MSS, the property until recently of Sir Francis Waller, Bart. One volume in this series—*Reminiscences Written by Mr. Horace Walpole in 1788* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924)—has already appeared; in addition to printing in full from the original MS the reminiscences of 1788, an imperfect text of which was published in 1799 by Miss Mary Berry, it makes accessible for the first time the very interesting notes of conversations which Walpole had, between 1759 and 1766, with Lady Suffolk, the friend of Swift, Pope, and Gay. Other new materials from the same source, editions of which may be expected to appear shortly, include the diaries which Walpole kept during his visits to Paris, his journal of visits to country seats, and his annotations on William Mason's *Satires* (the MS of which was purchased last spring by the Harvard University Library). Finally, attention may be called to a new edition of *The Castle of Otranto* and *The Mysterious Mother*, prepared by the Rev. Montague Summers (London: Constable, 1924), and to John W. Draper's *William Mason: a Study in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1924), in which, as might be expected, Walpole figures prominently.—R. S. C.

The most distinguished contribution made to Scandinavian philology in recent months is easily the *Festschrift, Eugen Mogk zum 70 Geburtstag, 19 Juli 1924* (Halle, Niemeyer). It is a stately volume of over seven hundred pages, containing a portrait of Professor Mogk and a bibliography of his writings. The contents range over a wide field, from studies in the dating of the Eddic poems, by Eduard Sievers, and a summary of the references to Russia in Old Scandinavian literature, by Frederich Braun, to a treatise on the national acquisition of the Bible, and another on the beginnings of Germanic philology in Germany, by Konrad Burdach. A recent work by E. Mogk is his *Novellistische Darstellung mythologischer Stoffe Snorris und seiner Schule* ("Folk-Lore Fellows' Communications," No. 51). This study shows that Snorri Sturluson and his helpers in the creation of the Younger Edda and the Ynlingasaga were not modern folk-lorists faithfully recording traditions, but were creative authors, poets if you will, who, under the stimulus of bits of tradition and their own wits, composed mythological tales and short stories. Their tales, therefore, are not to be taken as witnesses to ancient religion, but merely as evidence of the creative talent of Iceland in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Kaarle Krohn begins, in "Folk-Lore Fellows' Communications," Number 53, a series of *Kalevalastudien*, to which this first number is the Introduction. Professor Krohn gives the history of the recording of the poems which make up the *Kalevala*, of the later diligent collection of variants; he describes the distribution of these variants in different parts of Finland and Esthonia, the methods by which their original home has been determined, and discusses their origin and their age. Adequate maps are included. One of the most interesting passages is the account (pp. 136 ff.) of Lönnrot's share in the making of the *Kalevala* as we now have it. Lönnrot lived in the time that was under the influence of Wolf's Homeric theories; he took a collection of poems and set out to make an epic of them. Krohn shows that Lönnrot's work was mainly that of a collector and arranger, and that he added less than 5 per cent of the lines. The work is important as describing an individual method of studying popular traditions.

Only in recent years have scholars paid adequate attention to the linguistic differences between Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian. Professor George T. Flom some years ago published a facsimile edition of the *Konungs Skuggsjá*, or *Speculum regale*, one of the most important of the Old Norwegian MSS. Not long ago he published the first part of his "Studies in the Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá," dealing with the noun-stems and adjectives. We now have the second part (167 pages), dealing with the pronouns, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, and verbs. It is a piece of exact and reliable philological work, based on painstaking study of the MS and on careful statistics. In a subsequent part, Professor Flom plans to study the vocabulary of the work as a whole. The present part appears as Number 4 in Volume VIII of the "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature."—C. N. G.

In 1892, the Clarendon Press published for Mr. Paget Toynbee a substantial volume (nearly seven hundred pages), *Specimens of Old French, IX-XV Centuries*. This work is now out of print, and it has been replaced on the Clarendon Press lists by a *Historical French Reader, Medieval Period*, edited by Paul Studer and E. G. R. Waters, both of the Taylorian Institution, Oxford. This book, intended for use with classes, has sections on (I) Vulgar Latin, (II) the oldest monuments, (III) "Standard French before 1400," (IV) Old French dialects (some eighty pages), and (V) the fifteenth century. Variants are liberally given, and considerable MS material has been collated afresh. A carefully made Glossary (some one hundred twenty pages) will certainly prove useful to all students in this field. The price is regrettably high: 21 s. in England, and \$7.00 in the United States.

Probably any arrangement of the Old French material would be open to criticism for one reason or another; for textbook purposes, it is true, fine distinctions must sometimes be ignored. Nevertheless, as this *Reader* is

arranged, it would be difficult to explain to students why Einhard's Latin should be labeled "Vulgar Latin," when it is well known that he modeled his prose pretty closely upon Suetonius. Perhaps a better plan would have been to distinguish Vulgar Latin and Low Latin, meaning by the latter Classic Latin written with all degrees of success, according to the care and knowledge of the author.

Again, the distribution of material between Section III, Standard French, and Section IV, Dialects, has some obvious inconveniences: Crestien, Beroul, and Guillaume de Lorris are made to appear as if chiefly of linguistic interest; *Thebes* is in Section III, while Guillaume de St. Paier is in Section IV, yet both have prominent dialectic traits in common (the rhyme *nuit : delit*, etc.) It might have been nearer the facts, and in the end better pedagogy, to have recognized, under Section III, three subgroups: (A) Norman-Angevin (moving *Alexis* and *Brendan* to this group); (B) Picard (*Aucassin* and *Renard* would belong typically here); (C) Central (beginning with the *Voyage Charlemagne* and stretched a little to include Crestien). This would leave to Section IV those authors and texts whose interest is, in the opinion of all, chiefly linguistic. It would be a matter of regret if the editors have been influenced, in forming Section III, by the ideas of G. Wacker, whose essay, *Über Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen* (1916), while containing useful bibliography and other material, is a superficial performance and mischievous in its general thesis.—T. A. J.

The "Bibliothèque de la *Revue de littérature comparée*" continues its imposing series of monographs. Among those which have appeared during the last two years, we may point out especially: in 1923, Roe's *Taine et l'Angleterre* and Larat's *La Tradition et l'Exotisme dans l'œuvre de Charles Nodier*, which upholds the piquant thesis that Nodier's exotic fantasies were but one form of his literary traditionalism; in 1924, Faÿ's *L'Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, which has been eagerly awaited by a number of students, Sells' *Les Sources françaises de Goldsmith*, and Partridge's *The French Romantics' Knowledge of English Literature*. A word concerning this last.

The notable list of studies concerning the influence of English authors in modern France (e.g., the *fortes études* of Estève and Van Tieghem), was bound some day to approach an end and to demand a counterpart. With most of the great figures already "done," including Tom Moore and the "lakists," with Goulding's *Swift en France* included in the foregoing series, and with the monstrous task of Shakespeare still remaining unassailable as a whole, the end would indeed seem near. The counterpart is illustrated by what Mr. Partridge offers: first, an approach to the same figures and similar problems from the French angle; then, from the "objective" point of view, taking the external evidence of memoirs, periodicals, etc., belonging to the epoch treated.

The difficulty is that much of the material and many of the conclusions were already to be found in the individual studies mentioned above. Mr. Partridge seems to have met this difficulty in part by offering fresh correlations and fresh evidence.—E. P. D.

Another important series of Romance monographs has been inaugurated by the *Revista de filología española*, bearing the collective title "Anejos de la 'Revista de filología española.'" The high standard of excellence attained by the first four works in this series to reach the editors of *Modern Philology* speaks well for the success of the enterprise.

Number I of the series, entitled *El español en los siglos X y XI*, by R. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, is apparently still in press. The next four are available.

Number II is Vicente García de Diego's *Contribución al diccionario hispánico etimológico*. This distinguished philologist modestly calls his book an appendage to Meyer-Lübke's etymological dictionary. He seeks to fill gaps and correct possible errors in the more comprehensive work. There are listed 658 Latin etymons, under which are grouped a wealth of dialectical forms. An important step has been taken toward the writing of an etymological dictionary of the Spanish language.

Number III is Max Krepinsky's *Inflexión de las vocales en español*, a translation into Spanish of an important study on Spanish phonology, first published in the Czechic language in 1918. Scholars will rejoice to see this important work reprinted in a more universal tongue.

Number IV, *El dialecto de San Ciprián de Sanabria*, by Fritz Krüger, is a noteworthy bit of philological field work. The author lived in the Leonese hamlet named in the title long enough to write a complete phonology and morphology of the form of Leonese there spoken. Several folk-lore stories are transcribed in phonetic script. Further studies of the same nature are announced.

Number V is *Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de "La Celestina,"* by F. Castro Guisasola. Long ago Menéndez y Pelayo indicated the need of a book on this subject, and that book is now at hand. Señor Guisasola studies Rojas' sources, classic, ecclesiastic, Italian, and Castilian, with meticulous care. He distinguishes between certain sources and those merely probable.

Each of the works mentioned above deserves a thorough review. For the present this brief mention must suffice. The whole series is distinguished by careful and artistic presswork.

The recent death of Alfred Morel-Fatio takes from us one of the world's foremost Hispanists. Few others possessed his wide range of interests. His labors were divided between linguistic studies and the literary and political history of Spain. The *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portu-*

gais de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is an indispensable aid to students. His edition of Calderón's *Magico prodigioso* was the first scientifically edited text of any Spanish play. Another of his important critical texts is *El libro de Alixandre*, making known for the first time the Paris MS of that celebrated romance. But Morel-Fatio's most typical productions are his many monographs on literary and historical subjects, the best of which were gathered into his *Études sur l'Espagne*. In these he shows himself not merely a scholar but an artist. These studies have all the charm of Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries*, and are enjoyed by the layman as well as by the specialist. With a Frenchman's aversion to travel and a scholar's reluctance to leave his books, Morel-Fatio set foot in Spain but once. He died in harness, writing industriously after he was stricken by disease. Many Americans are indebted to him for his kindly and obliging helpfulness.—G. T. N.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Marot et Rabelais. By PIERRE VILLEY. Paris: Edouard Champion, 1923. Pp. xvii+431.

Once more we are indebted to M. Villey, the distinguished Renaissance scholar, for an illuminating study. Not only do Marot and Rabelais belong together in time and in influence, but so much new light has been recently thrown on their weather-beaten figures that a fresh biography of them is opportune. The great asset of Villey's book is its literary acumen. Both writers are presented to us, against the background of their age, with their lives and their works skilfully interwoven. The result is that the reader gets an unfolding picture of Marot and of Rabelais rather than a stereotyped view based on *ex parte* judgments. In method, then, the study follows the general lines of the same critic's *Montaigne*.

The section on Marot contains the greater amount of new material. It is, in fact, based on Villey's own *Tableau chronologique des publications de Marot (Revue du XVI^e siècle, 1920-21)* and *Recherches sur la chronologie des œuvres de Marot*, which had appeared in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, from 1920 to 1922. The chief faults of the work, as a whole, are its lack of an index and its tendency to omit bibliographical references. To be sure, two appendixes of the present volume contain chronologies of the works and of the life of Marot, and a critical bibliography for Marot is also appended (pp. 404-23). But M. Villey excuses himself for being unable to do the same as regards Rabelais—a deficiency which he will doubtless make up in a second edition of his book. When that is done, it might also be well to include references to Ph. A. Becker's *Clément Marots Liebeslyrik* (Vienna, 1917), and the same author's "Clément Marots Estreintes aux Dames de la Court (1541)" in the *Zeit. rom. Phil.*, XLI (1921), for, as Villey grants, Becker's "Marots Leben" (*ZfSL.*, 1913) has hitherto been the best account of the poet's life. Some interesting observations on Marot and Villon are now available in F. C. Green's article in *Modern Philology*, XXII (1924), 69 ff.

Among the influences that shaped the intellectual and artistic career of Marot, Villey gives first place to the court. He says: "Pour entrer à la cour il s'était fait rhétoricien; et la cour allait l'émanciper de la Rhétorique." The court came to have good taste, but in respect to Marot its influence was a sanction, an encouragement, rather than an initial impulse; when he arrived upon the scene French poetry was arid, stilted, without wit or salt. Thus Marot's contribution was one of spirit rather than of essence. Wit, humor, and sensibility replaced heavy eulogy, and liting couplets and a great variety

of lyric meters took the place of *tours de force*. So that, at his best, Marot became the antithesis of a *rhétoriqueur*.

As for the genres cultivated by Marot, Villey's chief contribution is to point out the importance of the problem, and then to confine himself to the elegy and the epigram. Following Henri Guy, he states that the *épitre* was the favorite form of the *rhétoriqueurs*. True as this is, the *épitre* had been current since the time of Deschamps and was so popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century that many people who were not professional poets used it for their correspondence. Thus members of the royal family exchanged verse-epistles. Villey shows that the First Elegy—a form which Marot is held to have introduced—was called an epistle (in 1525) and that the name "elegy" was not applied to it until 1534; that is, after Alamanni's *Rime toscane* (1532), which contains twenty-four amorous elegies. Thus Marot followed Alamanni's practice. On the other hand, the elegy as a genre had existed long before as the *complainte* and then as the *épitre héroïde*, Marot's first epistle being of this second type. But he left it among his "epistles," the only amorous one in the collection. Villey has made the important discovery that it was written for Antonius Pastoureau. The epigram had a similar history, and in later editions Marot's *huitains*, *dizains*, *blasons*, and other short pieces all found their way into this classification. Vianey had given an Italian source for the *blasons*, but Villey has no difficulty in showing that the genre already existed in France.

In regard to the vicissitudes of Marot's life, Villey is conservative in his attitude toward Lefranc's theory of the love affair with Anne. In principle he accepts it, but in reality he has little faith in the poet's capacity for devotion. The section on Marot's "exile" follows Guiffrey closely, that on the "return" adds nothing to the treatment of Marot's quarrel to be found in Bonnefon and Dubosc. There is, however, considerable new material in the sections on the popularity of Marot, the important question of the edition of 1538, the influence of Martial and the humanists, and Marot's own conception of the Renaissance. Finally, chapter vii, on the influence of Marot, stresses his great vogue in the second half of the sixteenth century. More than sixty editions of his works appeared between his death and the end of the century. Binet tells us that Ronsard read him constantly, and all the splendor of the Pléiade did not suffice to eclipse him. For the later period, this chapter leans rather heavily on Lerber's thesis and Mornet's review.

While previous biographers (Guiffrey and Becker) were particularly interested in Marot the man, Villey's emphasis is on Marot the poet and his effect on French poetic genres. The attempt to trace each genre to its source, in the midst of a biography, often has the effect of cloying the argument. Yet Villey's work marks a great advance in our knowledge of Marot and in the true appreciation of his verse. Moreover, it paves the way for a critical edition of his works, which we hope will soon be forthcoming; and for this task no one could be better fitted than M. Villey.

The treatment of Rabelais, coming as it does after the edition of Lefranc and the studies of Plattard, Sainéan, Tilley, Smith, and Schneegans, is necessarily a *mise au point*, as the French say. To Villey, Rabelais is first of all a man of his time, a humorist with a zeal, to be sure, for antiquity, but an antiquity which he sees through the spectacles of his contemporaries. The thought of Rabelais, he says (p. xi), "est peu originale, et sa science n'est pas prodigieuse, surtout elle procède beaucoup moins qu'on ne le prétend d'un esprit tout nouveau." This is not only a reaction against the excessive claims of others, and their name is legion, it is also a very salutary endeavor to present Rabelais as he really was. In addition, Villey follows the modern trend (see Lanson) of stressing Rabelais' literary importance, his realism, the method of his humor, and his sense of style. In evaluating this humorist, the error of others—thinks Villey—has been to miss the distinction between parody and satire. And, certainly at the start, Rabelais was a parodist. Note this excellent definition:

La parodie consiste à porter dans un sujet trivial les procédés, les tours de langage empruntés à quelque grande et noble matière. Elle peut ridiculiser cette matière en la ravalant ainsi au niveau les plus vulgaires; mais elle peut inversement avoir pour objet de rendre plus sensible, en le soulignant, le caractère trivial, ou fantasque, ou bouffon du sujet familier qu'elle pare de semblables atours.

Apply this principle and you get the juxtaposition of the heroic and the domestic (see the Sainte-Marthe material in the *Gargantua*) which is so characteristic of Rabelais throughout. Doubtless in his method of reversal he was influenced by Lucian, but the idea is primarily and fundamentally his own. Coupled with his raciness, it is the most Rabelaisian trait he has.

On the side of philosophy, Villey tends to minimize Rabelais' importance. As he says, Rabelais expresses a confidence in the essential goodness of human nature. We may add to this that the power which Plato (in his *Symposium*) attributed to love, Rabelais—a true follower of Thomas More—attributes to Nature. In the third book, as Villey states, Pantagruel is the exemplar of this point of view: "Il est avant tout un homme de bon sens et de juste milieu, ennemi de l'exagération et du paradoxe." This is a rapprochement to Molière, which might have been emphasized, particularly as Tilley (*Studies*, p. 241) is prone to deny it. Thus the whole question of Rabelais' relation to the Naturalism of the Renaissance is still to be determined.

As regards Rabelais' *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, it may be said at once that Villey doubts the authenticity of Book V, despite the arguments of Lefranc, Tilley, and Smith. "L'attitude sceptique," he argues, "reste légitime." The matter is a crux, which we cannot go into here, except to say that the contrary view of Lefranc and Tilley seems to us the more probable, and that Villey nowhere mentions the suggestion of M. Cons (*Revue bleue*, 1914) that the signature, *Nature Quite*, at the end of the 1564 edition, stands for "auteur Quinte," i.e., a friend of Rabelais who might have carried his work to a con-

clusion. M. Plattard (*RSS.* II, 279), while skeptical, at least considers this suggestion as worthy of consideration.

Where Villey is particularly good is on Rabelais' method of composition. He shows clearly the progress of his work: how, after the success of the *Grandes Chroniques*, the idea of the *Pantagrue* arose in the poet's mind; and how finally with the third book, and then only, Rabelais got the notion of a connected story. While Villey here does justice to the influence of Folengo, whose importance was first exaggerated and then underrated, he seems to us to neglect somewhat the influence of the French romances. The Prologue to the *Gargantua*, with its remarks on *sens* and *matière* (see *Romania* XLIV [1915], 25, note), indicates the lead which Rabelais had in mind to follow, and the general progress of the story from *enfances*, to education, to warlike exploits, to a quest, modeled on voyage-literature, bears out this fact. It might be noted, too, that the famous letter of Gargantua to his son is as to genre a medieval *chasloiment*, and that the announcement, at the end of the 1532 *Pantagrue*, of a plan which Rabelais never carries out, has its appropriate counterpart in Lucian, Folengo (*Baldus*), and in Robert de Boron's *Joseph* (which, of course, Rabelais could hardly have known). In short, such an announcement is part of Rabelais' inimitable parody.

On the biographical side, Villey follows in the main the results obtained by Lefranc and Plattard, correcting at times their inadvertencies, and supplementing them in matters of interpretation. Thus the question of Rabelais' attitude toward the Reformation is set in a clearer light, and chapter xiii, entitled *l'Art de conter*, is one of the most notable contributions to that subject. Finally, under the heading *les Destinées du Roman* the name "Urchard" (p. 337) should of course read "Urquhart," and since Goethe is mentioned, Shakespeare might have been included; see, particularly, *As You Like It*, III, ii: "You must borrow me Gargantua's mouth first. 'Tis a word too great for any mouth of this age's size"—which looks like a reminiscence of the etymology attempted by Rabelais.¹

There are several misprints in the book; one of them, 1541 instead of 1543 (see p. 248) as the date of the *Amye de Court*, is apt to mislead the reader.

C. E. PARMENTER
WM. A. NITZE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ Lefranc's ed. I, p. 76. Incidentally, the reader might have been told that the name is probably derived from the onomatopoeia *garg*, cf. OF. *gargate*, Sp. *garganta*, and Prov. *gargameia*, actually the name of Grandgousier's wife.

And, certainly, since the reference is given (p. 337, note) to an article in *Modern Language Notes*, 1921, there was no reason for omitting the author's name, which is A. D. McKillop. The article is entitled: "Some Early Traces of Rabelais in English Literature."

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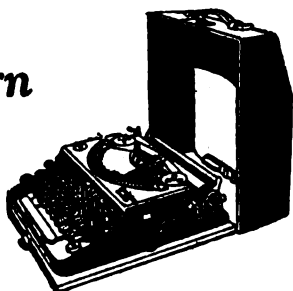
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